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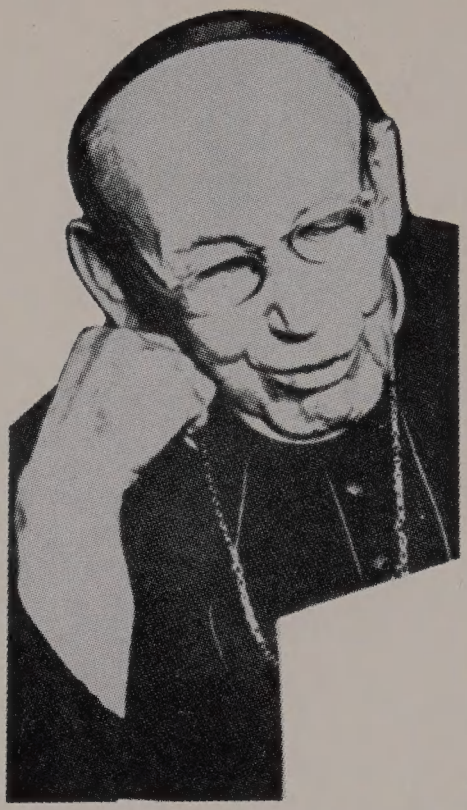

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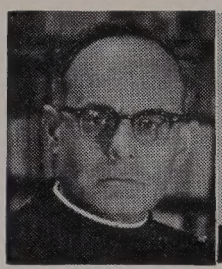

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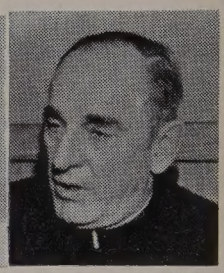

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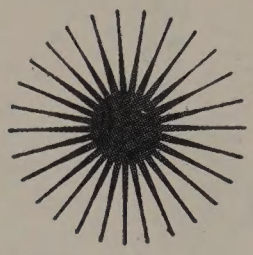
editorial note



PLURALISM AND IDEOLOGY

■ *We live in a nation and a world which are increasingly conscious of their pluralism. As the consequences of our religious, philosophical and cultural fragmentation are inexorably borne in upon us, we become more and more aware of the necessity of adjusting our habits of thought to the reality of our divided condition. Modern society, in America and many other countries, cannot be governed on the basis of a single set of religious or metaphysical beliefs. The fact is in many ways deplorable, but there it is and we must accept it.*

■ *It would be an illusion, on the other hand, to believe that the acceptance of pluralism frees us from the need of serious social thought or from the dangers of false theory. Pluralism is not a ready-made theory to which we need only assent. It is a massive social reality to which we must work out a response.*

■ *And, in the process, we run the risk of developing an ideology of pluralism which will suffer from all the defects of the ideologies thought up to justify revolutionary changes in earlier centuries.*

■ *The democratic revolution of modern times, for example, was no doubt an answer to certain valid aspirations of the human spirit. But the ideology of democracy which philosophers and pamphleteers propounded was in general superficial and unrealistic.*

■ *As a result, said Sen. J. William Fulbright of Arkansas at the Fund for the Republic's convocation in New York last January, "The history of political thought in the last century and a half is largely one of qualification, modification and*

outright repudiation of the heady democratic optimism of the 18th century." To the question whether popular government is possible today, the Senator therefore gave a cautious 20th-century answer: "Government by the people is possible but highly improbable. The difficulties of self-government are manifest throughout the world."

■ *Senator Fulbright did not, of course, advocate abandonment of the democratic experiment. He only urged more realistic thinking about democracy in place of the doctrinaire rationalism, exaggerated optimism and unhistorical spirt of "classical democratic theory."*

■ *His words may serve as a warning to us as we go about our unavoidable task of elaborating a theory of pluralism. We must face up intellectually to the pluralistic fact. But if we are to think usefully about it, we must beware of the dangers of ideologizing.*

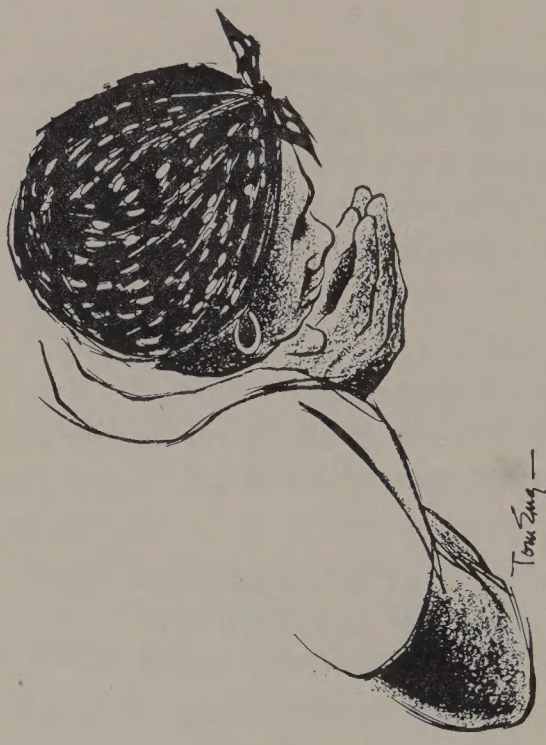
■ *A pluralistic society finds it all too easy to assume a kind of social relativism as its metaphysic and a crude utilitarianism as its moral philosophy. At the same time it is tempted to erect slogans about the rights of individuals or of minorities into absolute truths.*

■ *Such lazy solutions to the problems of pluralism are not good enough. We owe it to our fellow citizens to take part in working out the ground rules of the pluralist society. But most of all we owe them a serious and sustained contribution to a sane social philosophy.*

The Editors, CATHOLIC MIND

STRANGE LOVE

LILLIAN SMITH



Camus speaks in *The Rebel* of a "strange kind of love" that insists on changing men's lives, a love complex, critical, and often reacted to with hate—a love which sometimes turns itself into hate when the rebel does not understand his rebellion.

You cannot come close to the present nonviolent movement in the South without feeling this strange love. It warms—and it burns. It reveals men's depths—and heights. It appeals to their compassion—and it stirs their hate. It is conciliating—and it is adamant. It is a powerful thing: men do not always behave creatively in its presence.

Reprinted with permission from the **Saturday Review**, Oct. 20, 1962, 25 W. 45 St., New York, **N. Y.** 10036. Miss Smith is a novelist and a long-time student of race relations. Her best known work, **Strange Fruit**, deals with the tragedy of racial segregation.

Gandhi knew well—no one knew better—the potency and the dangers of the nonviolent way of bringing about change: the ritualistic acting out of the need for change. And no one has used this way more successfully. One reason for his success—there were others—lay in his stern refusal to let his followers forget the seductive ease with which their own natures could misuse this ritualistic weapon. He warned them that regardless of self-discipline, or the righteousness of their cause, or the desire not to harbor resentment, *in the act of protest itself* lies dormant violence. It does not follow—his life made this plain—that protest should not occur, nor that men have devised a better or more effective way to bring about change than by the use of the nonviolent protest.

►Among enlightened Southerners, there is today more argument about this than about segregation itself. Few approve openly of Martin Luther King. The "moderates" who are amenable to "slow change" angrily protest the Negroes' use of this method; even those who have been active for full desegregation of public facilities (and hundreds of thousands of whites are) seem to feel a curious resentment toward these nonviolent rituals—or is it an undefined fear? However we name it, many of our "best people" are attacking the nonviolent methods and philosophy which the students and Dr. King's group are using.

It is of these that I write, for they are now the makers of public opinion. The day of the rabid segregationists, the obscene demagogues, is over—as recent elections in Georgia have shown. Mississippi is just beginning its ordeal, and at present there is little likelihood that leadership will arise there, bold enough and wise enough to free the people quickly from their servitude to the past.

The problem is the old one of States' rights vs. human rights. It is clarified as a matter of constitutional law, for Governor Barnett is defying the Federal courts. He has failed in his attempt to interpose this State between young Meredith and the highest court of the land. Every thoughtful American knows his attempt had to fail. It is as simple as that. As citizens of the U.S.A., we owe the highest court our obedience. Mississippians are not exempt. Whatever we may think of the law, it must be obeyed as it is interpreted by the Supreme Court. The President was, of course, compelled to see that obedience was given.

What price Mississippians will pay for their defiance, we do not know. It is possible that the Oxford ordeal will have the final effect of clearing their minds of the myths and fantasies which the demagogues have for so long substituted for the truth.

There is in much of the South, however, a more benevolent, flexible mood. Then why this angry resentment of Martin Luther King and the sit-in students? "It is not segregation we are defending," an Albany citizen wrote me; "we were going to accept desegregation of schools quietly (at least, a token desegregation) until these Negroes started demanding things. Now look at the anger in our town! Is it right to break laws as a protest? Should young Negroes be encouraged to go to jail? Shouldn't they be taught instead to be respectable?"

Whether or not Albany would accept without resentment any kind of desegregation is highly problematical, but it is true that its citizens voted against the demagogue Griffin, and for the more moderate Sanders, for governor.

► The letter just quoted from was written by a highly intelligent woman who has often spoken out against segregation. Now she is confused—and she says her liberal friends are. You can remind them there may be a specious tinge in their insistence that Negroes obey local statutes when our officials, many of our Congressmen, and many business men have urged the whites not to obey the directives of the Supreme Court. You can remind them that in countries distant from us we call young men who fight for their freedom heroes, not "jailbirds," even though they are thrown into prison.

But we miss the point by indulging in such epicyclic arguments. The reason for this moral and mental confusion lies not in the rational part of minds but closer to the mythical; much of it is down where stereotypes are made. For nearly a century we Southerners have stereotyped not only the Negro but ourselves. We now find it difficult to see ourselves or Negroes as complex human beings, each with varying gifts and differences, and all with the same civil rights.

Instead, we see ourselves as nice people, who, if not pushed too hard, will give Negroes a bag of goodies now and then. We see ourselves graciously handing them little bits of their rights (which are not ours to hand), doling them out as we (or our grandfathers) used to dole out fat bacon and sweets and cornmeal at Christmas. We see ourselves shimmering in an aura of kindness; we feel good-hearted, and often gently tender as we give our little presents. But *they are not ours to give*—ah, this is what hurts; the Negroes are reminding us their rights are not ours to give as we see fit but *theirs*—given them as human rights by God and as civil rights by the U.S. Constitution.

What hurts is watching this nice image of ourselves crumble to dust. For as the Negroes sit in, or picket, or quietly stand in front of City Hall asking

for a conference with the mayor or the city council, they are not begging nor bowing and scraping; they are with dignity and self-discipline asking for what is theirs and asking for it now.

► And, suddenly, the stereotypes we have made of them and of us collide and clash and break into splinters; we feel nakedly exposed as we stare at our real selves, and stunned as we stare at them: these are not "nice Negroes who are satisfied with things as they are," but human beings, wanting for themselves and their children the right to grow, to learn, to question, to become, to feel secure in their home towns. And as we glimpse ourselves we see something queasily dishonest which we cannot bear to acknowledge: how can we be so proud of our kindnesses to the few Negroes we know when we have stubbornly kept from all Negroes their civil rights—rights that are as much theirs as our civil rights are ours.

Let me say at once: the personal kindnesses shown by white individuals to Negroes, the compassion revealed in thousands of small deeds, the sacrificial acts, the risking of their lives now and then by whites who have loathed the white supremacy system—and there have been always, from Civil War days, thousands who did—are the most precious part of our Southern culture. In spite of demagogues, in spite of restrictions which have bitten as deeply into our lives as into Negroes' lives, many white Southerners have been gentle, kind, and have maintained relationships of genuine quality with Negro individuals.

I say quickly, too, that I want no world where only civil rights are observed—however fairly they are observed. We need both our rights and the mercy of others; we cannot live as human beings in a world without grace. (Right here is the fatal flaw in communism, which theoretically says mercy, grace, and generosity in human relations are not needed.) But neither can men live *as men* without their civil rights. There is no "either-or"; there must be both. And dramatically, though quietly, the gestures, words and ritualistic acts of the nonviolent protesters have brought this home to us, brought it with the same kindness and grace a few white individuals through the troubled decades have shown to them. I am willing to say that had there not been those good and valid personal relationships through the last century, a nonviolent movement could not have drawn Negroes to its philosophy; they would have found it too hard to forgive.

►But there is yet another cause for the resentment of "methods" used by the nonviolent group: many suffer a severe psychic difficulty in dealing with this "strange love." Compassion from someone you consider beneath you, or

whom you have harmed, enrages you—if you are easily enraged—a forgiving spirit in a Negro can, as one man said to me, "make you want to tear him to pieces." "What is he forgiving me for? What have *I* done?" Things boil inside: guilt chokes kindness; arrogance claws at fairness. The truth is that we can meet nonviolence creatively only if we respect nonviolence; we can relate to compassion only if somewhere in us there exists a little compassion; we can give justice only if we value justice; we can respond to humor in some of these situations only if we value humor.

The nonviolent philosophy is a catalyst, powerful and difficult in its spiritual demands.

And there is something else: it is human not to want to be put in a position where we act or despise ourselves for not acting. The Negroes' nonviolent protests bring to a town its moment of truth. We can no longer slide along complacently. We are compelled to make decisions, right or wrong.

Suppose, for instance, you walk into a drug store where Negro students are sitting-in at the lunch counter. There they are: quietly sitting on the stools, usually reading schoolbooks, sometimes the Bible. You watch: suddenly white hoodlums edge in. One slaps a student; another sticks a burning cigarette in a back. The students do not move. Every muscle in you aches to help these students, and yet you do nothing; you would tackle the hoodlums (maybe), but you tell yourself you might start a riot. (And you might.) And suddenly you are sick with guilt. How can you stand there! Then, as suddenly, anger overcomes your guilt and you yell (silently) to the students, "Fight back!" But the nonviolent protesters just sit there, taking the blows, taking the burning cigarette.

► Now, something else happens inside you: a nasty, indecent something whispers, "OK, cowards, let the hoodlums use the chain on you! See if I care!" You walk out; you have not done or said a thing. But you are sick all over, for you do care what happens, you can't help but care, and suddenly you are raging mad with yourself and with the hoodlums and with the students, and you settle the stinging turmoil inside you by saying, "It is these Negroes who are disturbing the peace of our town; things were fine until they came."

Or maybe you are a prominent businessman, sitting in your office, trying to make a profitable deal for your firm—and beyond you is this spiritual turmoil, this challenge; you know it concerns you and your children but there is this deal to pull off—so you turn your moment of truth over to the chief of police and tell him to "handle those Negroes who are disturbing the peace." Whose peace? Yours? The hoodlums'?

They have certainly disturbed something in your town—but not its peace; only its apathy, its complacency, its paralysis in the face of a changing, whirling world that won't wait, no matter how loudly we Americans, South or North, beg it to wait. And they have mixed up your values, they have disturbed your peace of soul and mine—for we have not measured up to the moral challenge offered us, the biggest that will be offered us in our lifetime. And now. . . .

And now, we are touching a sensitive thing, hard to grasp firmly and bring up for eyes to look at: segregation itself. What has this way of life done to us all? Have we whites, by its terrible logic, changed from human beings into hollow men? Where is our virtue? Our excellence? Did we trade it for white superiority? Have we in this cultural nightmare turned into the stereotype we made of the Negro's soul? Is it *we* who are satisfied with things as they are? Is it *we* who are apathetic and without courage to speak up for the rights of our own and other children to grow and become? Where is the hollowness we thought we had made when, in stereotyping "the Negro," we scooped out his love of freedom, his spiritual dignity, his hope? Is it now inside our own souls? Did we think we could dehumanize the Negro without dehumanizing ourselves?

And now, we are touching something else: the dynamic quality of change itself. How can we change the Southern way of life without changing ourselves? Without learning to think with honest logic? The nonviolent movement is telling us, by its philosophy and its ritualistic acts, that change comes not only by a few external acts but by a great many internal acts. It is forcing us—although its leaders may be only dimly aware of it—into embarking on an Orphic journey. It is compelling us to seek the hidden poetic truth in this tumultuous agony to reach deep into our hell and grasp Eurydice by our questions and lure her close enough for our hearts to feel her once more. This movement, not by its nonviolent methods but by the reiteration of those powerful words *love, compassion, redemption, grace,* is compelling us to search for truth, that of our region and of ourselves. Their radiating power reminds us that we must find a new way of relating ourselves not only to each other but to reality itself, to the times we live in, to ultimate concerns.

And some of us had thought we could skin out of the dark, bitter past without even admitting we had done wrong. We had thought a little "token" desegregation would rub out a century of our calendar of sins. How simple-minded and how blank we have been!

The Black Muslims—growing steadily in power and influence—are telling

Negroes to beware the nonviolent movement: "Those Negroes and that Martin Luther King are actually forgiving white folks for centuries of sins! They are appeasers ready to settle for integration. Well, we are not! We want black supremacy and are going to get it. Someday, we'll make the whites pay for their sins." But the whites are not listening to the Black Muslims; they are resenting, wasting precious time resenting the firm, quiet offers made by Dr. King and the students and other leaders to "reason together and work things out." The nonviolent protesters are demanding their rights, yes; but at the same time they are offering us not "black supremacy," not a black KKK, not black mobs, but gifts of good will, conciliation, forgiveness. They don't want to take our rights away (as do the Black Muslims); they only want theirs. But the big story, which many are missing, is that now has come *their* time to heal broken relationships, to "give presents" of mutual forgiveness, and a mutual bearing of spiritual burdens.

This arouses in some not warmth, not gratitude, not awe, but anxiety. They find this strange love offered us, this passion for our common welfare and common future extremely disturbing. One man said this: "Let the Black Muslims come! I prefer them to these damned nonviolent niggers. I know what to do with a Black Muslim." But what does one do when offered forgiveness and love? This means we've "gotta straighten things out," as one white put it. And how hard this now seems to people who had convinced themselves that a little token desegregation would do it—then business could go on as usual, art could go on as usual. Philosophy, religion could go on as usual. Politics. . . .

And now—now we know better.

► A man must accept limits to his rebellion, as Camus so wisely said, whether it is rebellion against the past or the future. If the word "moderation" has any meaning left in it after its misuse for the past decade, it lies in this necessity to accept limits. The nonviolent group has done so. Its members exclude physical violence and verbal arrogance; they exclude resentment; they try never to refuse a chance for conciliating talks. But they put no limit on each individual's capacity for forgiveness, no limit on compassion, no limit on willingness to help bear the white man's psychic burdens.

This is, in effect, a tremendous spiritual challenge to white Southerners—one many of us are unable to rise to at present. These acts, these words—how are we to answer? Where have *we* put the limits to our rebellion against change? Are limits set only against mobs, terrorists, arsonists, demagogues? Only against the closing of our schools? Have we set limits to our arrogance,

our hubris, our complacency, our refusal to see what the future demands of us? Can we meet compassion with compassion, justice with justice, reconciliation with reconciliation? There can be no limits to love. It must be (and is) durable and long-lasting; there can be no limits to honor and justice and mercy.

Only a profound humility can say, "We have done wrong and are even now doing wrong." It requires character to be humble, character to accept this "strange love" offered by Negroes to help us bear the burdens of our common future and our common fears.

► This strange love is the essence of the Christian religion; its roots go deep into the Jewish religion; it is what valid religion is about. That superb writer, Charles Williams, now dead but well remembered in England, a friend of T. S. Eliot and C. S. Lewis, speaks in his essays and novels more clearly than any contemporary writer of the love that says, "Let me bear your fear for you; you can then do what you need to do; let me ease you of your anxiety; I cannot do your work, this you must do, but I can bear your fear." And though the leaders of the nonviolent movement have not used these words, they, in their ritualistic acts and their conciliating talk, are saying to the white South: "You have no need to fear revenge or malice from us: all we ask is that you let us help bear the fears you have for the future; all we want is to help meet that future with courage—and with grace."

But many whites turn away saying, "They make mistakes, too; they are not always forgiving; some of their leaders do foolish things." Of course they do. Some of their leaders have not as yet made their own Orphic journey; others commit tactical errors; a few are not spiritually concerned enough for this ordeal; some of the college kids are thinking more about their rights than they are of what they will do with these rights; some of the young Northern whites in the movement feel more anger toward white Southerners than compassion, though all are courageous.

This is true. And, because they have undertaken a rigorous vocation, they must demand all that is possible of themselves or get out of the movement. But all groups, all movements, even saints come short of perfection. What this group is saying to the South and the nation is worth listening to; worth reaching out for; let us stifle our angry shouts and try to hear the "small voice" that is speaking to us. It is possible this philosophy, these conciliating, nonviolent acts may save us (even though some say we don't "deserve" saving) from the "eye for an eye, the tooth for a tooth" rage of those black supremacists who have succumbed to a ravening hunger for revenge. *If we listen in time.*

GOVERNMENT'S ROLE IN MODERN SOCIETY

BENJAMIN L. MASSE, S. J.

■ One hesitates to belabor the obvious by noting that we live in one of the most topsy-turvy periods in recorded history. It is necessary to do so, however, because no one who essays to discuss the role of government in contemporary society can possibly make any sense unless he projects his topic against the background of a world battered by surging tides of scientific, technological, social, cultural and political change. If science had not revealed the secrets of the atom, if Europe's colonial empires had not collapsed in Asia and Africa, if communism were not an expansive force menacing the security of the free world, if astronauts had remained glamorous characters in science fiction, if a dozen other things had not happened, then perhaps even Sen. Harry Byrd might be satisfied with the Federal budget for 1964.

I say "perhaps" because, after all allowances have been made for spending on defense and space, and for interest on the national debt, the budget still bulks considerably larger than the budgets of thirty years ago.

An address delivered on March 13, 1963, at the annual Legislative Forum of the Michigan Welfare League, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan. Fr. Masse is an associate editor of **America**, the National Catholic Weekly Review.

There is much more, then, to big government than the challenges and crises of the postwar era. The forces that have led thoughtful men to question the wisdom—at least for our times—of Thomas Jefferson's praise of small government ("That government is best which governs least") were set in motion approximately two centuries ago by the Industrial Revolution. It makes no difference that the men of that age were blind to the political consequences of the changes wrought by the application of power-driven machinery to production and transport. It must surely be one of the great paradoxes of history that the philosophy of economic liberalism, with its slogan of *laissez-faire, laissez-aller,* arose almost simultaneously with the switch from domestic handicrafts to factory production. For a half-century or more the state was content to be a passive policeman, satisfied that in the free operation of the law of supply and demand God had provided a regulating principle for economic activity more perfect than the wit of man could devise.

By the time men came to question the beneficence of the "invisible hand," the damage had been done. In the bitter soil of injustice the dragon seeds of class struggle had been sown all over Europe, and the disciples of Karl Marx, inspired by the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848, prepared to reap a revolution. We are still paying today for the tragic blunders of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, and what the full price will be no man can foretell.

I shall not recount here how governments were finally obliged, by the pressure of public opinion and the threat of revolution, to intervene in the economy to protect propertyless workers from the evils of unrestricted competition and the excesses of uncontrolled economic power. It is sufficient to note that the laissez-faire state has been replaced in all industrialized countries of the free world, including our own, by some type of welfare state.

■ In this country, the transition came relatively late, and even today has not progressed as far as it has in most European countries. On the national level, the beginnings of government intervention were regulatory in character, starting with the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 and the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890. Not until the great depression of the 1930's did the Federal government move significantly into the welfare field. And it was only in 1946, with the passage of the Employment Act, that Washington assumed responsibility for promoting "maximum employment, production and purchasing power."

This shift from small government in the 19th century to big government in the 20th century has not been accomplished without struggle and controversy. For the past thirty years the issue of the government's role in society has been central in every Presidential campaign. A stranger to these shores might easily form the impression that Americans are hopelessly split over this issue and are ceaselessly engaged in a sort of nonviolent civil war. Actually, from the great debates of the past few decades something like a national consensus has emerged; so that, with a single exception, the fighting which still goes on is mostly rear-guard or peripheral in nature. It is concerned with means rather than ends; with methods rather than the substance of the affair. (The exception is the con-

troversy over the respective roles of the Federal government on the one hand, and State and local governments on the other. And at times one doubts that even this is a substantive struggle.)

What is the nature of this consensus?

Certainly, one element in it is the conviction that government is the servant of the people, not their master, and the firm belief that the concept of limited government which the Founding Fathers incorporated in our basic political documents is the only one fit for a free people. This is the reason, I believe, that the expansion of government in this country has taken place without any totalitarian, or even authoritarian, overtones. (This is true, even though a small, ultrarightist minority vociferously dissents. Equating government expansion with creeping socialism, these defenders of the *status quo ante* Harding and Coolidge argue that the process is bound to end in collectivism. They have no confidence either in democracy or the intelligence of the American people.)

A second element in the consensus is a belief in the dignity and freedom of the individual. Although Americans recognize that growth of government necessarily implies some restrictions on the individual's freedom, including his use of property and income, they insist that the net effect of government intervention must be a general enlargement of liberty. They continue to hold that individuals should remain primarily responsible for their own support and that of their families, and that the economic system must remain dominantly one of private enterprise.

A final element in the consensus is the persuasion that government programs should supplement rather than supplant private activity. The American people cherish the right of free association, and any Administration in Washington that tried to weaken or eliminate the numerous organizations—economic, cultural, social, scientific, charitable, and what not—which people have formed over the years would be up to its neck in trouble. Lincoln's statement that government should do for the people what they cannot do, or do so well, themselves is part of the American philosophy of life.

Nor does the consensus stop on the level of principle. It extends to the substance of all the interventionist legislation passed during the watershed years of the New Deal. It also includes the Employment Act of 1946. It certainly embraces the government's dominant role in space and atomic energy. No Presidential candidate who advocated that the government get out of the space business, or called for repeal of the Fair Labor Standards Act, the National Labor Relations Act, the Social Security Act, or any of our major welfare laws, could possibly be elected, or even nominated by a major party.

■ A popular consensus on policy is not, of course, an infallible guarantee of its wisdom or morality, as history, including some fairly recent and tragic history, testifies. We must ask ourselves the question, which I have already alluded to, that is bothering people, not only in the United States, but in all the developed countries of the West. Is the government's effort to cope with the problems of 20th-century society—to foster a more just and productive economic system, to raze slums and build decent housing, to expand education-

al opportunities, to provide a minimum level of security against the hazards inseparable from life, to aid dependent children, the needy aged, the handicapped, the involuntary jobless—is all this effort, so much in accord with humane and spiritual ideals, weakening the moral fiber of the American people, destroying their initiative and self-reliance, and circumscribing their liberty?

I see no evidence that anything like this has happened, or is likely to happen. Surely it need not happen.

At this point I wish to cite the testimony of a man who cannot easily be accused of radicalism, or of subverting the moral and spiritual values without which nations perish and civilizations rot and die. It is now nearly two years since Pope John XXIII published a letter on socio-economic questions known by the Latin title *Mater et Magistra*. There are some passages in that document —also known by the English title, *Christianity and Social Progress*— which are very pertinent to my theme this morning.

In approaching the contemporary controversy over the role of government in the economy, the Pope begins by reaffirming two fundamental theses of the Catholic Church's body of social doctrine. The first proposition is that "the economic order is the creation of the personal initiative of private citizens working either as individuals or in association with each other in various ways for the furtherance of common interests." The second proposition is that government also "must play an active role in promoting increased production with a view to social progress and the welfare of all citizens."

But how, in arriving at specific policies and programs, are the nature and extent of the government's active role to be determined? How, in the concrete, is the relationship between government and private enterprise to be defined?

The Pope's answer is essentially the same as Abraham Lincoln's. Indeed, it is the only possible answer for those who believe both in a system of private enterprise and in the duty of government to protect and promote the general welfare. It boils down to this: that individuals and groups should be left as free as possible, within a framework of law, to pursue their legitimate goals, with government directing, stimulating, co-ordinating and supplementing their efforts as circumstances suggest or demand. This principle obviously lacks the precision of a yardstick and over its application, consequently, there can be legitimate differences of opinion. That is one reason, I suppose, for the existence of rival political parties in a democracy. If this principle is followed consistently, however, government will be truly limited. It will not be constantly rushing in to assume functions and provide services which, in Lincoln's phrase, the people can furnish themselves. On the other hand, confronted with changing circumstances, with new needs and demands of the people, government will not be supine or inactive either, bound in rigid molds of a vanished or vanishing past.

■ In the light of these ethico-philosophical principles, what judgment should be passed, then, on the expansion of government in the economic sphere which has occurred all over the Western democratic world?

Pope John is very explicit in his answer. Because of scientific advance

and technological progress, he says, governments now have it within their power to deal with two great weaknesses or defects in the economic order. They can, first, redress the imbalances which have come to exist, not merely within countries (between the agricultural and industrial sectors, for instance), but also between countries. In the second place, governments have the means to control fluctuations in the economic cycle and to prevent any recurrence of mass unemployment. There is an insistent need, he therefore concludes, "for those in authority—since they are responsible for the common good—to increase the degree and scope of their activities in the economic sphere, and to devise ways and means and set the necessary machinery in motion for the attainment of this end."

Concluding this section of his letter, the Pope repudiates anything resembling an adversary relationship between government and private enterprise. "As history testifies with ever increasing clarity," he says, "there can be no well-ordered and prosperous society unless both private citizens and public authorities unite in contributing to the economy"; for experience shows, on the one hand, "that where personal initiative is lacking, political tryanny appears," and, on the other hand, "where the state fails to act when it should, or acts defectively, incurable civil disorder follows: in particular, the unscrupulous exploitation of the weak by the strong."

In much the same spirit, Pope John deals with the phenomenon of socialization. This may be defined as an organized or group approach, on both the public and private level, to a host of objectives—social, economic, cultural—which individuals cannot obtain or can obtain only with great difficulty, acting alone. This definition is broad enough to include both the multitude of organizations—labor, trade and professional associations, charitable societies, farm groups—which give an organic structure to American society, and the welfare activities of government, State and local as well as Federal.

To arrive at a moral assessment of socialization, the Pope draws up a sort of balance sheet. On the one side, he itemizes the benefits and advantages. Socialization makes possible "the satisfaction of many personal rights, especially those of a socio-economic nature." He lists the most important: the right to the indispensable means of human livelihood, to health services, to education at a higher level, to a more thorough professional training, to housing, to employment, to suitable leisure and recreation. On the debit side, he lists as the chief disadvantages: multiplication of institutional structures, extension of juridical controls over human relations, restriction of the individual's freedom of action and, finally, a climate which makes it difficult for individuals "to reach judgments free from external pressures, to work on their own initiative, to exercise responsibility and to assert and enrich their personalities."

Then the Pope poses the question: "Must we conclude that socialization necessarily reduces men to the condition of being mere automatons?"

By no means, answers the Pope. Socialization is not the product of blind forces acting in a deterministic way. It is the creation of free men moved by a natural urge to combine with their fellow men to achieve objectives beyond their individual ca-

pacities. If socialization is brought about in the proper way, if government, that is to say, has a correct view of the general welfare, and if private organizations are both autonomous and democratic, then, says the Pope, "it will not of its nature seriously restrict individuals or overburden them. Instead it offers hope of promoting in them the expression and development of their personal talents."

With respect to the relationship between public and private endeavors in the social field, Pope John sees no necessary conflict. Rather he encourages collaboration. "Right order will be realized more and more," he writes, "through a renewed balance between a demand for autonomous and active collaboration on the part of all—individuals and groups—and timely co-ordination and encouragement of private endeavors by government."

■ Before a professional audience of this kind, an outsider would be lacking in prudence if he ventured any comment on the relationship here at home between public and private agencies in the social field. It is obvious, however, that there is plenty of work for all, and it would be a sad day for the country, no matter what the reason, if public agencies tried to monopolize the field, or if, on the other hand, private agencies attempted to belittle or unduly restrict the governmental role. Three years ago, in the course of a tour of the Far East, South Asia and the Middle East, I had a chance to observe American relief efforts abroad. Those who are experiencing difficulties here might well learn a lesson in co-operation from the operation of Public Law 480 all over the world. The foreign work of our voluntary agencies, supported to a considerable extent by government, is not the least glorious chapter of our postwar history.

For the rest, if we can trust statistics, it does not appear that the growth of public agencies in the welfare field has discouraged the growth of private agencies. In 1916, there were only ten diocesan bureaus of Catholic Charities in the entire United States. Thirty-two years later, a decade and a half after the passage of the Social Security Act, in the full tide of expanding government welfare activities, there were 101 diocesan agencies with 160 branch offices located in 40 States and the District of Columbia. Today, all except a small minority of the 146 dioceses and archdioceses in the United States have bureaus of Catholic Charities, and their growth continues apace. I am sure, though I don't have the figures, that the Protestant and Jewish experience parallels our own.

Whether public efforts to cope with the needs of an increasingly industrialized and urbanized society have stimulated the growth of private, voluntary efforts (much as Old Age and Survivors Insurance gave a shot in the arm to the private insurance business), I don't know. But the fact is clear enough. The vast apparatus of public welfare has not caused voluntary agencies, whether Church-related or not, to wither and die on the vine. Indeed, the exact opposite is true.

Before leaving this point, I should like to call attention to one of the more significant and thought-provoking books of recent years, Gunnar Myrdal's *Beyond the Welfare State*. The great Swedish economist argues that we are already in the process of

taking the second big step in the now 100-year-old transition from the laissez-faire state to more human and rational political institutions. Government intervention, culminating, in democratic societies, in some form of the welfare state, was the first step. The second step, which he suggests will be the final one, consists in a "gradual diminution of direct state intervention by activating the people to take care of their own interests within the general rules laid down by the democratic state." He foresees "a more co-operative national community, with more identification, solidarity and participation on the part of the individual citizen, who then will come to feel freer—and he actually will be more free." In such a community, the people, through their local political units and their voluntary organizations, will assume responsibility for the detailed regulations which now burden national governments. This development, in other words, "implies the coming into existence of a 'Welfare Culture' within the structure of the Welfare State."

It is scarcely necessary to note in passing that between Myrdal's thinking on "socialization" and that of Pope John XXIII and other church leaders there are interesting and striking similarities.

■ On the relationship in the welfare field between the Federal government and State and local governments, I shall be mercifully brief.

The Federal government moved massively into welfare only in the 1930's, and it moved because it had to. State and local governments simply lacked the resources to cope with the tragic consequences of catastrophic unemployment. All in all, the Federal government has been sensitive to the traditional place of State and local governments in the welfare field. The conditions it attaches to grants-in-aid are reasonable and minimal. The proof is that over the past thirty years State and local welfare departments and agencies have no more declined in size, importance and professional attainment than have the voluntary agencies.

■ Much of the Federal-State controversy today strikes me as being more a clash over economic and cultural interests, with strong racial overtones, than a fight over high political principles. Frequently it is unrealistic and unhistorical. It is unrealistic because the States' Rights side of the argument refuses to acknowledge that the 19th-century is dead and buried. It is unhistorical because the States' Righters assume a governmental structure in this country that is largely mythical. As Prof. Morton Grodzins, of the University of Chicago, has argued convincingly, the symbol of the American Federal system is not "a neat layer cake of three distinct and separate planes. A far more realistic symbol is . . . the marble cake." Wherever one slices it, he finds Federal, State and local governments mixed together in a bewildering variety of combinations. And this absence of clear jurisdictional lines is as old as the Republic.

In speaking so frankly on this issue, I trust that I am not bruising tender sensibilities. So far as government welfare operations go—with emphasis on day-to-day relationships—I may be dismissing the case for States' Rights too lightly. If so, I can only plead that often in human affairs ignorance adds force to a man's rhetoric. Be that as it may, the

present arrangement of roles and functions is not going to be changed in the foreseeable future. Surely, the frustrating experience of the Eisenhower Administration, which was committed to decentralization, demonstrates that. Consequently, practical men will concentrate on making our joint Federal-State programs work more effectively. If this doesn't satisfy the States' Righters, let them give their attention to the growing romance between Washington and the nation's municipalities. The men in charge of our urban agglomerations have problems to solve, and if they cannot get help at the State Capitol, they are certainly not going to let a musty slogan keep them from appealing to Washington.

We are not a very tidy people. We are, after all, a democracy. That is our weakness; it is also our glory and the source of our strength. We believe in the dignity of human beings, "that all men are created equal," as the Declaration of Independence proclaims, "that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

It is this belief that should be the soul of our welfare creed. If it is, there is no reason—except human weakness and cussedness—why all agencies, public and private, Federal, State and local, cannot work together to ease the sufferings and guard against the hazards which, even in this affluent age, are inseparable from life here below.

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NEUTRAL SCHOOLS?

MSGR. EDWARD P. MC CARREN

■ In every school, some sort of religion permeates every subject in the curriculum. This is inevitable and unavoidable. "Neutrality" toward religion is an illusion.

Obviously, the definition of religion used here is very broad. But it is not arbitrary. It conforms to the definition adopted by the United States Supreme Court in 1961. The Court insisted, in the Torcaso case, that a set of beliefs or way of life such as Ethical Culture and Secular Humanism were religions, even though they professed no belief in God.

Both Ethical Culture and Secular Humanism place great emphasis upon human dignity and human rights but without relation to God. It is fair to say that some version of this type of religion permeates every public school in America. This is not an adverse criticism—quite the contrary. Most church-related schools, on the other hand, are permeated with Judeo-Christian humanism.

■ The *Harvard Educational Review*, summer 1962, contains an article by George A. La Noue entitled, "Religious Schools and 'Secular' Subjects." It is Mr. La Noue's basic contention that the Catholic religion permeates all subjects in a Catholic school; consequently, even the teaching of subjects like mathematics and science may not receive financial support from the government, since it is unconstitutional to give direct aid to religion.

Mr. La Noue is now beginning to discover that his argument is a two-edged sword. How can the government support the religion which is taught in all subjects by the public school? This is a reasonable question in the context of the controversy.

In what sense is some form of religion taught in every school?

Reprinted with permission from Ave Maria, Notre Dame, Ind., December 29, 1962. Msgr. McCarren is diocesan superintendent of schools and secretary of education to Bishop Walter P. Kellenberg of the Diocese of Rockville Centre, N. Y.

Every school is religious in the sense of commitment to a way of life, a set of ultimate beliefs and values. Every school reflects judgments concerning the meaning of life, the nature of man and God, the structure of human knowledge and the function of human society. This religion permeates every classroom and every administrative policy of our educational system.

This is true whether the school knows it or not; whether the school intends it or not.

A school's ultimate beliefs (its religion, in the sense used by the Supreme Court) come out most clearly in the teaching of those subjects which deal most directly with ideas, such as literature, geography, history and even science.

Each subject in the curriculum enjoys its own autonomy as an area of knowledge. Nevertheless, it is always interpreted by a human mind with its own presuppositions, its own fundamental approach. This fundamental approach determines the direction of investigation, the selection of evidence, the emphasis of key ideas.

■ This is perhaps the time to recall the words of Mr. Justice Jackson of the U. S. Supreme Court in the McCollum case: "The fact is that, for good or ill, nearly everything in our culture worth transmitting, everything which gives meaning to life, is saturated with religious influences, derived from paganism, Judaism, Christianity—both Catholic and Protestant—and other faiths accepted by a large part of the world's peoples."

It is perhaps easiest to see this in the social sciences. For instance, a school may teach the physico-social science of geography with great emphasis on the economic life of man. In this school, comparatively little is said about other geographic influences of man's culture such as his art, his family life, his religion, his education, his form of government, his laws.

Furthermore, in this school there is stress on man's trade and commerce, but little attention to his exchange of ideas—his spiritual interdependence. Such a school is shaping and molding in children a definite image of what a man is, and what human life is all about. The Judeo-Christian tradition finds this economic concept of man to be not only incomplete, but false and misleading. Even true Secular Humanism would find it inadequate.

The interpretation of literature in the classroom also opens many avenues to the formation of attitudes on basic values. The poet and the novelist, the dramatist and the essayist are the philosophers and the theologians of the modern world. They have many things to say about important issues of life. The teacher, in turn, can accept or reject, applaud or ridicule. A child is impressionable and cannot readily escape the influence of the teacher who interprets the author.

In the teaching of natural science there are many different viewpoints concerning various aspects of the universe: the reality of cause and effect, the evidences of purposiveness and intelligence in things, the significance of law and balance in nature, the distinction between hypothesis and fact, the power of the mind to reach true certitude rather than mere hypothesis.

The child, taught even indirectly that the "scientific attitude" is lim-

ited to the natural sciences, is also effectively taught something about the structure of knowledge, priorities in human living, and related human values. It is also easy for him to forget that his small mind is big enough to encompass the entire universe, and that he is not a mere speck of dust but a human person.

■ Even in mathematics (and what seems more unrelated to ultimate beliefs than mathematics?) it is possible to convey a theory of the universe. There is a sense in which mathematics is a creation of the human mind. But is the conformity of mathematical theory to reality something which is essentially relative and arbitrary—or is it in some sense a real description of the world around us? It is possible to teach one or the other in the mathematics class.

To repeat: No one can teach any subject without a religious bias (or antireligious bias) of some kind. In this sense, a "religion" of some kind is taught by every teacher in every school.

But Mr. La Noue has done more than provide a new dimension to the constitutional aspects of the school question. His two-edged sword has yet another thrust. He has reminded Catholic educators that a definite religion is supposed to permeate every subject in a Catholic school.

The influence of religion in any of the "secular" subjects can be very subtle. Does the Catholic educator fully understand all that is going on within his own school?

The Catholic religion is taught as a separate subject (and given, one would hope, at least equal status with other major subjects). But what "religion" is really being taught in the "secular" subjects? If conscious, consistent and explicit attention is not being given to this question, the answer could be startling. The research of Joseph Fichter, S.J., has already suggested some disturbing conclusions (cf. *America*, 9/15/62, p. 718).

The cutting edge of Mr. La Noue's sword has forced us to ask ourselves: How Catholic are Catholic schools? In the entire curriculum? In administrative policies? Certainly, more than a religious "atmosphere" is necessary.

It is no secret that publishers have been seeking guidance for years in the preparation of Catholic textbooks. Professional theologians, philosophers and educators have offered little concrete, specific and practical help. In desperation, authors resort to pietism in order to curry favor with those who want "Catholic" books. "And the last state of that man was worse than the first."

It would be the ultimate irony if a really scientific investigation by Mr. La Noue were to uncover the fact that our Catholic schools actually teach the "secular" subjects almost exactly the same as do the public schools.

Is this growing custom of our youngsters really harmful ?

EARLY TEEN-AGE DATING

JOHN L. THOMAS, S. J.

EVERY ONGOING society constitutes an intricate web of relationships embodying a series of mutual expectancies and obligations aimed primarily at securing the satisfactory fulfillment of essential human needs. Hence, change affecting one set of social relationships requires some readjustment in all the others. If such changes are widespread and frequent, many people get so preoccupied with making the immediate, day-to-day adjustments required, and become so habituated to the constant modification of their way of life, that they frequently lose all sense of social and moral perspective, and thoughtlessly accept new practices and customs.

Such unthinking conformity to changing social patterns becomes all the more dangerous for members of a religious minority in a pluralistic society like our own. For there exists little agreement either on the ultimate purposes of life, essential values or moral codes. Under such conditions, changing social patterns may be based on implicit moral assumptions utterly objectionable to religious minority members, just as they may involve consequences that render the attainment of cherished religious ideals highly improbable if not impossible.

Most American Catholics show some awareness that, as members of

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a religious minority embracing an increasingly distinctive set of beliefs and values, they face just such a situation in contemporary society. Yet an analysis of their typical reactions reveals confusion, uncertainty and little understanding of the basic issues involved. A case in point is the practice of early teen-age dancing and dating now becoming widespread. Reactions of parents, teachers and youth leaders range from relatively ineffective denunciations of "steady dating" to promotion of programs unwittingly calculated to perpetuate the very problems they were designed to solve. Perhaps a closer look at what is happening in this case may throw some light on the inescapable challenges Catholics face in our rapidly changing, pluralistic society.

"DON'T PUT ALL the blame for dating on us," an indignant mother protested recently. "How can you expect parents to hold the line while schools, parishes, and local youth groups promote dances and encourage only couple-centered entertainment?" The protest seems legitimate. Responsible parents face a formidable challenge both inside and outside the home when their youngsters can share in the social life of their group only by dating. One frustrated eleven-year-old informed his nonpermissive mother, "Mom, do you know what the kids think of you? They say you're an imbecile!"

Teachers and youth leaders on the other hand are quick to point out that there is another side to the picture. To promote the dancing-dating pattern, they maintain, is merely being realistic: "If we don't provide such types of entertainment, the young people will seek it elsewhere. Their parents don't want to be bothered with them." A few appear to be following a kind of Hull House, social-uplift approach. As one grade-school principal explained, "We want our youngsters to know all the social graces before they leave school." Still others insist they are only responding to popular demands: "Their mothers want it, and the kids like it."

Further analysis of this trend toward ever-earlier, couple-centered entertainment suggests we are dealing with an odd situation indeed. Nobody appears to favor it, yet everybody is actively promoting it. In reality, we are witnessing a rather common example of mutual buck-passing of moral responsibility. Parents, teachers and youth leaders claim they are helpless: "We don't like it, but we feel we have no right to penalize our children." . . . "If we don't teach them, they'll remain socially incompetent and will probably follow less suitable patterns of conduct." . . . "As we see it, it's the lesser of two evils."

And so anxious mothers buy their young daughters heels, falsies, nylons, and lipstick. They rush their young hopefuls off to dancing school, organize their parties and skillfully manipulate their social development. Teachers use the social events of the school to teach their pupils proper behavior as couples. Youth leaders organize dances so that dating may proceed under their supervision.

ONCE THE EARLY dancing-dating process gets started, it becomes practically self-promoting. Growing youngsters look forward to it; parents, teachers and youth leaders take it for granted; the social life of teen-agers is organized to promote it; and alternate forms of entertainment almost

cease to exist. If young people wish to share in the social life of their peers, they must learn to dance, must acquire the accepted social graces and must achieve success in dating. Failure to observe this routine results in exclusion from the group.

What's wrong with this pattern? Against those who are trying to oppose it, many argue that it has developed in response to a real need. In our mobile, complex, highly organized society, success depends on being a meeter and a greeter, on the ability to be accepted by others, to work with them, to do things in groups. Hence, young boys and girls must learn how to get along with one another, to socialize, to relate as group members; and the sooner they start, the better. Schools, parish organizations and youth groups do well to supplant the family in this regard, for the restless, radio- and television-precocious youth in our affluent society have an excess of time and energy that must be constructively directed if it is to prove developmental. The modern family has not handled, and, under the circumstances, cannot handle this job effectively alone.

Following a similar line of reasoning, many teachers and youth leaders conclude that it is absolutely necessary to teach youngsters to dance and to provide them with extrafamilial, organized, group entertainment. Since teen-agers must learn to socialize, is it prudent to let them shift for themselves? Isn't such neglect an obvious source of frustration, delinquency and asocial behavior? If young people have a need, we must help them meet it; and our programs must start early or we will fail to attract them.

To a superficial observer such an approach may appear quite rational. Yet it is distressingly shallow, for it ignores the known facts of life, as well as the fundamental needs of American adolescents. Whether parents, teachers, and youth leaders like it or not, they must face the fact that the youngsters with whom they deal are probably sexually normal boys and girls. They must also acknowledge that our technically advanced society requires that modern youth undergo an ever-increasing period of serious formal study and training before they are prepared to take their places in the community.

The early dancing-dating program tends to ignore the far-reaching, practical implications of both these facts. Operating in a kind of vicious circle, parents, teachers and youth leaders anxiously seek solutions to adolescent problems that their own shortsighted activities have largely generated. Young people are prodded, pushed, and encouraged toward precocious cross-sex associations, and then it is argued that there exists a serious need to prepare them to meet the requirements of this pathological social situation.

WHAT'S WRONG with early teen-age dancing and dating? We can discover the real significance of such practices only if we consider them in the wider context of basic adolescent needs and the demands of contemporary society. Adolescence is not an end in itself. It is a preparatory, developmental stage in the life cycle, leading to maturity. As such, it is characterized by both universal and relative needs. Some needs are universal in the sense that all adolescents in every culture must pass through similar basic changes in their growth toward maturity. Other needs are relative in the sense that the successful assumption

of adult roles in different societies requires different types of preparation during adolescence.

Hence, in dealing with teen-agers, parents, teachers and youth leaders should be mindful not only of the practical implications of the various changes all young people experience during this period but also of the very special requirements of adolescent preparation in American society. If youth programs are to prove helpful, they must be geared to the real stages of adolescent development and be so designed that each stage may constitute a preparation for the next. Youth programs are means to an end and can be judged helpful only to the extent that they contribute to the achievement of this end.

Since the major changes experienced during normal adolescence are universal, they should be fairly obvious to all. Briefly, adolescence is a time of rapid physical development, frequently characterized by alternating spurts of growth and periods of relative quiescence, which proceeds at a far from uniform rate in different individuals. Usually between the ages of eleven and fifteen the appearance of the distinctive secondary sex characteristics indicates the onset of puberty, with its dawning awareness of the personal implications of sex, as well as an increasing knowledge of the various sources of sexual stimulation in oneself and in others.

Adolescence is also the period during which young people experience changing attitudes toward parents and home. As teen-agers gradually grope their way toward greater independence and self-assurance, their time and energy become increasingly devoted to interests and loyalties outside the family circle. This process of emotional and psychological weaning may involve considerable tension or strain, for in our changing society its stages are not well defined. Then the current pseudopermissive child-rearing proctors create a social atmosphere in which young people find it difficult to learn that the acquisition of rights necessarily involves the assumption of corresponding obligations and personal responsibilities.

Because this period is marked by such rapid growth, extensive new experiences, and the gradual assertion of independence, the most fundamental need of adolescents is to develop an integrated, consistent set of values, ideals, aspirations, and life-goals, that is, a philosophy of life in terms of which they can interpret their new experiences, impose order on their unfolding impulses and drives and give meaningful direction to their eager pursuit of happiness. During childhood they are guided primarily by the norms and aims imposed by others; as they move toward the responsible assumption of adult roles, they must learn to act on the basis of their own inner convictions.

THE CHANGES AND NEEDS we have been discussing characterize adolescence in all societies, but American youngsters face a special challenge. Successful participation in our society requires an ever-increasing amount of formal education and training. Much of what teen-agers can hope to be or to do as adults will depend upon how seriously they apply themselves during these formative years.

Significantly for the future, the very survival of our complex, technically advanced society, with its rapidly expanding population and

numerous unsolved problems, will depend in large part upon the extent and quality of the formal training our young receive. We have no choice. In America the accent during adolescence must increasingly be placed on this serious preparation or we are doomed as a nation. This prediction requires no prophetic powers. A society that is unable to prepare its youth to fulfill the tasks essential to its maintenance cannot long endure, and its ruin will come quickly if it is engaged, as we are currently engaged, in a ruthless struggle for survival with a rapidly developing, bitterly hostile opponent.

In the light of these considerations let us take another look at our early dancing-dating programs. If boys and girls are taught to dance, they will want to use their skills. If their social life is restricted to couple-centered parties and actively promoted by parents, teachers and youth leaders, they will take frequent, early dating for granted as their normal form of entertainment. If social success, as measured by dating frequency and popularity, is highly esteemed by their elders, they will devote much of their time and energy to achieve it. If they are not intellectually and spiritually challenged by a keen sense of personal responsibility for their own future and that of their country, they can be expected to show little enthusiasm for serious study or long-range preparation. If they are normal boys and girls, they become, once they reach puberty, capable of mutual emotional involvement, with its necessary accompaniment of sexual stimulation and arousal.

What of their basic developmental needs? Pushed from late grade school on into an exciting, highly competitive social life, young people have little time to reflect on the changes through which they are passing, little time to clarify their conceptions of what it is to be a man or woman in modern society, little time to dream about and plan for the future, little time just to grow up. Hovering elders, fearful lest their young should be left behind in a premature struggle for social prestige or should not meet popular expectations, see to it that they live under the tyranny of the present, forgetting that their present makes sense only when considered in terms of their future.

YET THE HOVERING elders—parents, teachers and youth leaders—insist they are helpless. Are they? They would do well to ask themselves if this easy buck-passing of serious moral and social responsibility does not reflect their own shallow thinking and lack of deep inner convictions. Why must anxious mothers spend so much of their time planning the precocious social initiation of their children? Because they don't want their children left out? Left out of what? Early dating and premature emotional and sexual involvements? But the children will suffer! Don't they "suffer" when they are not allowed to climb trees, have guns or play ball on busy streets? The heart of the matter is that many parents are not really convinced that there's anything wrong with the early dancing-dating pattern.

What about the roles played by teachers and youth leaders? Teachers usually claim that since young people are expected to dance and date, the various social events of the school offer an excellent opportunity to teach them proper conduct on such occasions. Youth leaders tend to fol-

low a similar line of reasoning, adding that they must offer the type of entertainment that will attract their young charges. Such responses indicate a shallow, superficial outlook. If early dancing and dating are not in the best interests of adolescents, why thoughtlessly promote the trend? Fervent exhortations not to engage in "steady dating" are impractical and probably ill-advised as long as early and frequent dating is tolerated.

SURELY IT IS HIGH TIME that our hovering elders take an honest look at the practical implications of God's laws and the facts of life when dealing with teen-agers. The choice they face is obvious. Either they abandon their concern for the observance of traditional Christian standards of premarital chastity, or they must change their approach to early teenage dancing and dating. Why should American boys and girls be judged capable of engaging in long years of intimate, cross-sex associations—when this has never been possible in any society known to man—without suffering psychological and moral harm? The majority of modern teenagers are normal, although their elders apparently find this fact too shocking to think about.

But the current situation involves an even more distressing dilemma. On the one hand, by focusing adolescent interest and energy on social life and consequent precocious sexual involvement, we are imitating the practices of such simple, stagnant societies as the South Sea Trobriand Islanders or the Samoans, who grant their youth a period of free sexual experiment before marriage because their underdeveloped social system requires little preparation and includes no moral inhibitions regarding premarital sexual enjoyment. On the other hand, the maintenance of our technically advanced society demands that an ever-increasing proportion of American youth acquire long years of serious formal education and training, together with a mature sense of responsibility, self-control and discipline. Primitive adolescent formation is no preparation for adult participation in advanced societies.

The American people must realize that the maintenance of our cherished way of life is radically incompatible with the pseudopermissive, irresponsible cult of youth now in vogue. Christian elders must also realize that youth programs designed to preserve acceptable standards of premarital chastity and stable marriage cannot ignore the facts of life. Once a social system requires that the gap between puberty and social maturity be lengthened in order to provide time for the adequate preparation of youth, the intelligent regulation of adolescent, cross-sex relationships becomes imperative.

The current return to primitive practices clearly ignores the obvious requirements of our social system and Christian sexual morality. To plead helplessness under such circumstances constitutes a serious betrayal of responsibility that is already producing its own painful penalties. Unfortunately, experience has taught us that it is useless to suggest more adequate youth programs as long as the persons directly responsible for making the pertinent decisions remain unconvinced of the need for change. Until they become aware of the real dimensions of the problem, we shall continue to receive the facile response: "You don't understand."

OUR INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

JAMES J. NORRIS

■ Along National Route No. 115, facing the sea, at a distance of 25 miles from Agrigento, Sicily, there lies a human beehive inhabited by 21,000 people. The streets are covered with garbage and filth, and along their borders runs dark sewage water. Swarms of buzzing flies rise from the mass of filth on the streets, whenever the step of a passer-by disturbs them. The people have faces that are tanned and dried out by the sun and malnutrition, by suffering and inclement weather. We are in Palma di Montechiaro, a town which is known on account of the misery reigning there. In almost every dwelling, animals share the living space. An average day laborer earns the equivalent of 33 cents per day. Diseases here are of an endemic nature; children suffer from rachitis (on account of the custom of breast-feeding them until they are three years old, without giving them other nourishment); there is neither light nor water in the houses; food is absolutely insufficient and completely devoid of animal protein; meat, milk, eggs and fish are unknown in the ordinary diet. The entire infant population suffers from worms or threadworms.

The town of Palma typifies the major problems of the world today —poverty, hunger, disease and homelessness. They are the basis of the unrest and ferment that is going on among two-thirds of the world's population. They represent a constant invitation to rebellion.

In recent months, *Life* published a story about one family living in the squalor of a shanty town on the hill-

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sides of Rio de Janeiro. Readers in America were aghast at the subhuman existence of that single family, and immediately came forward with generous contributions to help move them into a new home. Those who are concerned with the problem in Rio de Janeiro are pleased that one family has been helped, but there remain more than 500,000 other persons living on those same hillsides, in thatched and tin huts with no running water, and in conditions of filth such as exist in the town of Palma.

On the fringes of every large Latin American city, people have been forced to squat by the hundreds of thousands, seeking a livelihood, in the great capitals, which is denied to them in the countryside.

■ On many occasions, you have heard it said: two out of every three people in the world do not have enough to eat. At a recent meeting with the Director of Nutrition of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization, I asked whether or not this was an exaggeration. His reply was a positive "No—it may even be an underestimation."

When we say that two-thirds of the world lacks enough to eat, what is meant is that either they do not receive an adequate quantity of food, or there is lacking one or more essential nutrients, such as protein, vitamins or minerals. To realize the extent of this problem, it is only necessary to imagine a line of people, starting at your front door, made up of the hungry of the world. The line stretches around the world for 25,000 miles and returns to your front door. On and on it stretches, not once or twice but 25 times.

Among these hungry of the world, the greatest disease is that of protein malnutrition, commonly known as kwashiokor. As one travels through Latin America, Africa and Asia, it is a most common sight to see the effects of this disease, particularly on small children. Their skin is bloated and covered with brown blotches. Their hair has turned red. They are listless and actually unable to eat.

The fourth problem that concerns a group like ours is the vast belt of homelessness stretching around the world from the shores of Europe and North Africa to Formosa and Korea on the other side of the globe. Of the 40 million people who were displaced by the war and its aftereffects, there are still today at least 20 million persons who are homeless. They are the pathetic remnants of the 10 million displaced persons on the continent of Europe; the thousands of men and women who have fled the Communist countries of Europe since the end of the war; the 300,000 Algerians who have been forced to take up temporary asylum in Morocco and Tunisia; the one million Palestine refugees who spend their days and nights in angry resentment over their plight; the millions of Hindus and Moslems who were displaced because of a partition resulting in the new states of Pakistan and India; the more than one million Chinese refugees in Hong Kong and a much larger number on Formosa, as well as the North Koreans who have fled to South Korea and to this day remain unsettled.

■ Surely, it is all of these problems that Pope John had in mind when he challenged the wealthy nations of the world to help the poorer lands. To realize the force of this challenge, it is necessary to quote the words of His Holiness from the encyclical *Mater et Magistra:*

Probably the most difficult problem of the modern world concerns the relationship between political communities that are economically advanced and those in the process of development. The standard of living is high in the former while in the latter countries, poverty, and in some cases extreme poverty, exists. The solidarity which binds all men and makes them members of the same family requires political communities, enjoying an abundance of material goods, not to remain indifferent to those political communities whose citizens suffer from poverty, misery, and hunger and who lack even the elementary rights of the human person. This is particularly true since, given the growing interdependence among the peoples of the earth, it is not possible to preserve lasting peace if glaring economic and social inequality among them persists.

Mindful of Our role of Universal Father, we feel obliged to stress solemnly what we have stated in another connection: "We are all equally responsible for the undernourished peoples. . . . Therefore, it is necessary to educate one's conscience to the sense of responsibility which weighs upon each and everyone, especially upon those who are more blessed with this world's goods."

It is obvious that the obligation to help those who find themselves in want and misery, which the Church has always taught, should be felt more strongly by Catholics, who find a most noble motive in the fact that we are all members of Christ's Mystical Body. John, the Apostle, said: "In this we have known the charity of God, because

> He hath laid down His life for us: and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren. He that hath the substance of this world, and shall see his brother in need, and shall shut up his bowels from him: How doth the charity of God abide in him?"

Pope John himself gave the answer to the challenge of these words:

> There are countries which produce consumer goods and especially farm products in excess, while in other countries large segments of the population suffer from misery and hunger. Justice and humanity demand that the former come to the aid of the latter. To destroy or to squander goods that other people need in order to live is to offend against justice and humanity.

The Holy Father further pointed out that it is not sufficient to give only emergency aid; we should also give long-term help. These are the words of His Holiness: "Emergency aid, although a duty imposed by humanity and justice, is not enough to eliminate or even to reduce the causes which in not a few political communities bring about a permanent state of want, misery and hunger. These causes flow, for the most part, from the primitiveness or backwardness of their economic system. And this cannot be remedied except by means of varied forms of co-operation directed to making these citizens acquire new outlooks, professional qualifications and scientific and technical competence. This co-operation must also consist of putting at their disposal the necessary capital to start and to speed up their economic development

with the help of modern methods."

His Holiness recognizes the fact that some of the richer lands are helping. In these words: "We therefore see with satisfaction that those political communities enjoying high economic standards are providing assistance to political communities in the process of economic development in order that they may succeed in raising their standards of living."

In every one of the 64 countries where Catholic Relief Services carries on programs, bishops, priests and laity ask not for handouts, but for the means to be put at their disposal so that they may be able to help themselves. We, in turn, are convinced that our most important long-range task is not the distribution of daily rations of food, clothing and medicines, but rather providing help to the Church abroad for the purpose of establishing permanent organizations which will be concerned with the social problems of the people.

In Latin America, in particular, the results of this policy are most striking. Six years ago, there did not exist a single national Catholic Charities organization. Today, thanks to American Catholic help, there is one in every country of South America. Some are stronger than others, but at least there exists an organization in each country, which has the wholehearted support of the hierarchy and the laity. In several countries, these national Catholic Charities agencies have developed to the point where they are dealing with problems not normally considered within the scope of a Catholic Charities agency. In one country, in order to meet the housing needs of the people, they have set up a housing organization which is assisting in the provision of loans for low-income people. In another country, they are engaged in the work of co-operatives. In every country, the bishops realize that the Catholic Charities organization is a strong right arm in their campaign to help alleviate social distress.

■ The Church is coming forth with leadership in every land. Probably the best known Church leader in Latin America is Archbishop Helder Camara of Rio de Janeiro. It was he who took the initiative in trying to provide some type of decent housing for the more than half a million squatters on the hillsides of Rio. It was the Church in Chile that was in the forefront in fighting for the squatters living over the garbage dumps. It was a Church leader in Peru who started the credit union movement there and who today is recognized as the leading credit union authority in South America.

The same story has been repeated in Africa and Asia. In country after country, the bishops have established Catholic Charities organizations which are meeting the needs of the people.

The United States is not the only country that is active in providing support for the expanding work of the Church in the social field in underdeveloped lands. Germany, which a few years ago was the beneficiary of American largess, is today the scene of the largest single national annual collection for reconstruction and rehabilitation work. The German bishops three years ago organized an appeal to alleviate hunger and sickness in the world. They urged their people to contribute, out of thanksgiving for the help they had received in their hour of need. To the amazement of all, nine million dollars was

contributed in the first collection. When it is realized that the Catholics of West Germany number slightly more than half of American Catholics, and that the average workman receives only about one-third of the American worker's salary, the extent of this generosity can be understood. In subsequent collections, more than ten million dollars has been realized each year. These funds are being used around the world to support projects, to improve health conditions and to increase food production.

One by one the other countries of the world are joining us in our fight against poverty, hunger, disease and homelessness. The Church in Austria has been making its contribution; the Catholics of Belgium have contributed and the bishops of the Netherlands have just recently concluded a collection for overseas aid, as have the Catholics of England. Whenever an emergency strikes, the Catholic charitable agencies of Europe join forces to alleviate the resulting distress.

■ In the international field, there exists the International Conference of Catholic Charities with its headquarters in Rome. Through this office, we have a center of coordination and the exchange of information. Our own Monsignor O'Grady has, from its inauguration in 1950, been a vice-president of the International Caritas. With wholehearted support of the Holy See, the International Caritas, co-operating with Catholic Relief Services, has been providing technical assistance to underdeveloped areas in establishing Catholic charitable agencies.

While we can take satisfaction from the progress that is being made, nevertheless we cannot be complacent, because only the surface has been scratched in helping to overcome the misery and distress that beset the world today.

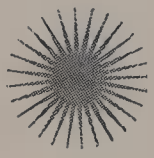
We cannot rest on our laurels, so long as there are millions of hungry people, and actually deaths from starvation, while America's storage bins are glutted with eight billion dollars worth of so-called "surplus" food. Surely it not surplus, so long as there is one hungry child in the world.

Can we rest content with our highly professionalized Catholic Charities movement in the United States, while in almost every land there are hands outstretched asking for assistance in the form of technical know-how? Last year, Bishop Swanstrom and I met with a bishop of Venezuela who pleaded from the bottom of his heart for only one American priest who would help him organize his diocese. Earlier this year, the Director of Catholic Charities of Colombia begged us for help in setting up a school in which he might train his workers. The bishops and missionaries from Africa and Asia are beating a path to the door of Catholic Relief Services asking for help to establish their Catholic social programs on a sound basis. Catholic Relief Services is unable to answer appeals for programs in several countries of Africa because of a lack of trained people to take over their direction.

If the word Catholic really means universal, then Catholic Charities must be universal in its outlook and in its operations.

This, it seems to me, is our responsibility in the light of the latest papal encyclical—to realize the universality of our Catholicity and to translate this into universality of action in Catholic Charities work.

MINDS AT WORK



NO COMPASSION ■ The very institutions of our society tend to work against the experience of compassion, of love. Out of absolute necessity and massive social lethargy, we have had to develop programs of public assistance and public housing, which, by their very nature, must be impersonally administered. Our private programs of charity, both religious and nondenominational, are geared to a "big-business" approach where the donors at the one end, and the recipients at the other, are thoroughly insulated by the machinery of administration.

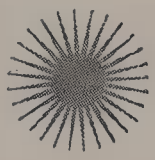
Our personal contacts among neighbors are neutralized by a pattern of residential mobility which keeps our roots from growing too deep. And even the most immediate needs of our neighbors are met with a telephone call to organization charity—or a patrol wagon.

Thus it is that, even in the social acts and forms of social organization that are most formally charity, we have built in a process of depersonalization which deprives us of the experience of compassion. Our social instruments of charity are IBM cards and tag days.

With this kind of social structure, we can never create communities—only their shells. For the capacity to love is as compelling as the capacity to know, and to frustrate either is to develop a

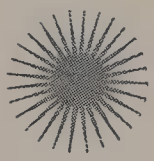
personal and social morbidity in which the good life can never be fulfilled.

—MSGR. JOHN J. EAGEN *in the* INTERRACIAL REVIEW *November, 1962*



LIFE IN THE JUNGLE ■ *Life is a jungle—so spoke Teamster president James Hoffa, when he appeared on "David Brinkley's Journal." It was April Fools' Day, but Hoffa wasn't kidding. He stressed his point. "Every day, the life of the average individual is a matter of survival. . . . What may be ethical to you may be unethical to someone else. Live and let live. And those who try to destroy you, make it your business to see that they don't and that they have problems." No one who knew Hoffa was surprised. What is disturbing is that many others have the same idea. Life is getting to look more and more like a jungle—a matter of survival, where anything goes.*

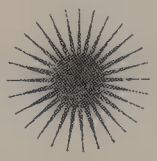
—SIGN *June 1963*



THE ECONOMIC REALITY ■ What is necessary today is social recognition of the reality of a socially controlled economic system. We must reach the point where the man in the street will reply without reservation or hesitation that Americans live under a mixed economic system in which government so regulates the economy that neither inflation nor deflation becomes a problem, but a steady

rate of industrial growth is maintained. At this point the American will be relieved of some of the social pressure of trying to obtain impossible goals, and will partake of the comforts of true "status." When he realizes that "free competition" is today a myth, that he cannot reasonably expect to become a millionaire and that no longer do all men in America have equal economic opportunity, then the evolution of social ideals will have caught up with economic reality.

—VINCENT NARCISI *in* THE MONTHLY
Fordham College Magazine.



ARE OUR MOVIES BETTER? ■ Years ago, some Hollywood wag wisecracked: "No producer ever went wrong underestimating the taste of the American public." That crack has haunted our movie culture ever since, but I hope those days are gone forever. Increasing imports of top foreign films have widened our dramatic horizons and sharpened our tastes. "Art" films—once the special artistic province of snooty intellectual cine-aesthetes—have become daily fare for those of us literate enough to read subtitles without moving our lips. The rich, meaty products of overseas moviemakers have given moviegoers a taste for stronger stuff—which translates as *better* (not necessarily dirtier) films.

The more perceptive Hollywood movie-makers sense this; the trash peddlers don't. It is true Hollywood has made some fine films—but also some pretty awful garbage. We have a right to demand more of the former, and less of the latter. Viewers exposed to the best of the imports (luckily they never see the worst) no longer feel that Hollywood is still the movie capital of the world, that it can do no wrong, and that they have no other choices. Obviously, no country has an option on masterpieces, and no

show-business industry turns out only hits. Shakespeare wrote bad plays too, and probably knew it—even if critics still fear to say it out loud.

The "Whither are we drifting?" boys are trying to appraise the Hollywood movie season—the trends, hopes and future—as extrapolated by a look at the past, and it's not easy. For it's not all black, nor all white. Hollywood is no longer a geographical location; it's been defined as "a state of mind." For Hollywood-type pictures are being made in New York, Africa, India, London, Paris, Rome, Mexico, Ceylon, Japan and Israel. You name it; an American movie-maker is bound to be there.

Hollywood, of course, made *Cleopatra,* and you can argue about that till the cows come home. But it also made *Lawrence of Arabia.* We got *Mutiny on the Bounty* for our sins, but also *The Ugly American* and *To Kill a Mockingbird.* Of course, not Hollywood but Ely Landau gave us O'Neill's *Long Day's Journey Into Night;* John Huston gave us *Freud;* and a couple of newcomers gave us *David and Lisa.* But Hollywood did come up with *Whatever Happened to Baby Jane? Days of Wine and Roses, A Child Is Waiting,* and *Requiem for a Heavyweight.*

For Hollywood, the impressive *Nine Hours to Rama* may compensate for *Come Fly With Me* and *The Longest Day* is a sort of apology for *Papa's Delicate Condition.* Danny Kaye can deliver his own apology for *The Man from the Diners' Club,* but who will apologize for the inexcusable vulgarities of *A Girl Named Tamiko,* the dirty-minded *Spencer's Mountain,* or the contempt for audience intelligence evidenced by Bob Hope as a drama critic in *Critic's Choice*?
Who will want to excuse the picturing of airline hostesses as gals on the make in *Come Fly With Me,* or the bouncing-bed vulgarities and inverted race relations of *Diamond Head,* the gutter immoralities of *Irma La Douce,* the tastelessness and low vaudeville dialect stereotypes in *Come Blow Your Horn*? Or the contempt for literate audiences evidenced by concentrating on the lowest common denominator of taste and intelligence in these large scale, multi-million dollar collections of cinematic garbage parading as truth—the twisted moralities glibly

distorted to suggest that black is white, dirt is clean, virginity can be peddled yet kept?

Who will apologize for the leering bust-and-buttock photography, for films that say you can sell yourself for a mink and win a millionaire and wedding ring in the process, pictures that promote prostitution as a wonderful profession and a happy prelude to marriage, and other epics that suggest that the way to lasso a prospective husband is with a bedsheet?

Who will apologize for the movies' glibly equating adult films with prurient sex peepholing—films made for flea bag houses but peddled to mass audiences in neighborhood "family theatres"? Who will apologize for the movies' selling us dirty stories as family entertainment to make a cheap buck? Plans are announced for a multi-million dollar studio to combine economically the activities of many studios-in-one. Will the pictures get better—or only the facilities for making pictures?

Hollywood says: "There's a picture for every audience and an audience for every picture." So be it. But will there be pictures, too, for the discriminating adult who can recognize the difference between sex and back-fence scrawls, between honest adult drama and fast-buck pornography, and who objects to Skid Row junk that should be on the Bowery being booked into children's matinee shows? Will there be pictures, too, that don't insult taste and decency, that do not help tear down parents' efforts to rear their children in an aura of comparative moral cleanliness?

In Hollywood there are plenty of men of taste and artistic discrimination—as well as dirty-postcard peddlers. To each his own. The producer who said you can't go wrong underestimating the taste of the American public made that remark decades ago. Since then movie audiences have grown older, wiser. Have the movie-makers? In recent months the failure of several pretentious messes of celluloid trash might suggest that audiences are getting choosier or fed up. No wise movie-maker should overlook that fact—for it can hurt him where it hurts the most: in his cash register.

—JESSE ZUNSER *in* CUE *August 10, 1963*

A FINAL TESTAMENT

EDGAR ALEXANDER

The dramatic history of the papacy reveals no other case in which the voice of the Roman Pontiff was accorded such universal attention as that given to John XXIII's encyclical, *Pacem in Terris*. Written only two months before he died, and in the midst of exhausting preparation for the second session of the Vatican Council, the encyclical stands as the final testament of a Pope who had endeared himself to the world for

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Reprinted from **Jubilee**, July 1963, 168 E. 91 St., New York, N.Y. 10028. Dr. Alexander, a German sociologist and historian who has lived in New York since the war, is at work on a full-scale commentary on both **Pacem in Terris** and **Mater et Magistra**. Entitled **Social Justice and World Peace**, the book will be published by Herder & Herder for release some time next year.

his simple goodness and his fatherly concern for all men, Christian and non-Christian.

Modern communications were partly responsible for bringing *Pacem in Terris* immediately to the attention of world opinion. Doubtless, too, the precariousness of the present world political situation contributed to a unique psychological readiness for spiritual direction, an openness to the message of salvation proclaimed in the encyclical. An even more decisive reason for the interest it has aroused, however, is the political wisdom of the Pope's message, which takes into full account the psychological and sociological facts of contemporary life.

Interestingly, many non-Catholics seemed amazed that the head of the Roman Catholic Church would stress man's freedom (not only juridically but in reality) as the foundation for all human society, and as the basis for the peaceful coexistence of nations. Even some Catholics were astonished at the openness to the world shown by the Holy Father in his declaration that freedom and peace are conscience-binding norms in politics and social affairs and also in religion.

Pope John was not the first to emphasize personal dignity and human freedom, of course. They are, rather, the basic principles of Western culture. Contrary to the opinion of certain conservative Catholics, the Pope's sanction of these principles and his specific application of them, from stating that an individual has a right to medical care to affirming the equality of races and nations in the world community, hardly represents a capitulation to liberalism or socialism.

These principles are fundamental to Western law and civil order and they have been consistently upheld by the Popes of this century. In the exercise of their universal office as *Pontifex Maximus,* as guardians of the *res sacrae* against any encroachments by the powers of the *res profanae,* they have served as guardians of human freedom and defenders of the natural law on which that freedom is based. Every time in history that these principles have been forgotten or denied, whenever a political power or an ideology threatened to suppress or to obscure freedom or law, the voice of the Roman Pontiff has been raised in their defense, restoring them to the consciousness of the age concerned.

FREEDOM AND THE MODERN PAPACY

The pontificate of Leo XIII in the concluding decades of the 19th century was especially distinguished for the exercise of this function of the papacy, to which too little attention is paid. Through his encyclicals, Leo opened the Catholic Church to the intellectual, social and political ideas of the modern world. At the same time, he introduced that world, dominated by liberalism, positivism, materialism and rationalism, to Christian ideas in philosophy and jurisprudence, reminding it of the principles of the natural law, which to a large extent had been neglected or forgotten at that time.

Leo XIII paved the way for the development of natural law realism and a personalist, democratic theory of state and society. (Natural law realism views man as he is, in the concreteness of his human existence; it is opposed to an abstract, idealistic view of man which dwells only on his spiritual essence.) His efforts

along these lines were so fundamental and decisive that the encyclicals and pronouncements of Pius XI and Pius XII in defense of freedom were built upon them. Leo's achievements have also served as a foundation for the encounter of the Church with the intellectual and political movements which have dominated the contemporary world.

During his 25-year pontificate (1878-1903), Leo achieved the kind of *aggiornamento,* or renewal of Catholicism in line with the times, called for by Pope John at the Second Vatican Council. This must be clearly perceived if we seek a deeper understanding of the importance of Pope John's encyclicals, *Mater et Magistra* and *Pacem in Terris.* The twelve Leonine encyclicals dealing with social and political matters contain the philosophical foundation of John XXIII's social and political thought. In *Pacem in Terris,* Pope John repeatedly refers in particular to four encyclicals of Leo XIII: *Diuturnum Illud* (On Civil Government), *Immortale Dei* (Christian Constitution of States), *Libertas Praestantissimum* (On Human Freedom), *Rerum Novarum* (Rights and Duties of Capital and Labor).

In all the major topics covered by *Pacem in Terris*—the freedom of the human person, the governmental and social orders in which men live together, the political and social rights and duties of the citizen, political co-operation among nations on a legally ensured basis of international order, peace and nuclear disarmament, the possibilities of a dialogue between Christians and those with different views, including Marxists and Communists—the Pope's language is bold and concrete. He consistently avoids theoretical discussions of the theological and philosophical basis upon which Christianity's concept of the person and society is built. This task was masterfully accomplished by Leo XIII. Rather than duplicate his efforts, Pope John only referred to them at appropriate times.

The Catholic theory of state and society has made enormous progress since the days of the Leonine encyclicals, and the changes that have occurred have worked toward a better understanding of Leo's principles. The encyclicals issued by Pius XI and Pius XII drew upon them, trying to apply them ever more concretely to existing social and political phenomena. John XXIII, in turn, also drew on the encyclicals of his immediate predecessors for the same reason. For example, in *Mater et Magistra* he applied the principles enunciated in *Quadragesimo Anno,* which of course was an elaboration of Leo's *Rerum Novarum.*

Some Catholics have reproached Pope John because, they say, he did not include enough theological doctrine and philosophical theory. Some go so far as to assert that his concentration on practical issues and political accommodation led him to devise "compromises contrary to principle." If they would take the trouble to study the encyclicals of Leo quoted by Pope John, they would realize that their objections are nonsense. The conclusions of *Pacem in Terris* are drawn from the doctrinal patrimony of John XXIII's predecessors. His specific suggestions for peace among men and among nations can only be properly understood in light of the theoretical, doctrinal content of the encyclicals of Leo XIII, Pius XI and Pius XII.

In his introduction to *Libertas Praestantissimum,* Pope Leo formulated an ontological, rather than purely abstract theological, concept of freedom:

> Liberty, the highest of natural endowments, being the portion only of intellectual or rational natures, confers on man this dignity—that he is in the hand of his counsel and has power over his actions.
>
> Man indeed is free to obey his reason, to seek moral good, and to strive unswervingly after his last end.
>
> This great gift of nature has ever been, and always will be, deservingly cherished by the Catholic Church, for to her alone has been committed the charge of handing down to all ages the benefit purchased for us by Jesus Christ—as Redeemer of mankind, having restored and exalted the original dignity of nature and vouchsafing special assistance to the will of man.
>
> Yet there are many who imagine that the Church is hostile to human liberty. Having a false and absurd notion as to what liberty is, either they pervert the very idea of freedom, or they extend it at their pleasure to many things in respect of which man cannot rightly be regarded as free.

In Pope John's introduction to *Pacem in Terris,* he based the fundamental principles of his peace encyclical on this ontological view of freedom. Obviously, then, a thorough knowledge of *Libertas Praestantissimum* is necessary for a proper understanding of the ideas contained in *Pacem in Terris.* Pope John stated his principles clearly and forcibly:

> The creator of the world has imprinted in man's heart an order which his conscience reveals to him and enjoins him to obey. This shows that the obligations of the law are written in their hearts; their conscience utters its own testimony.
>
> Any human society, if it is to be well ordered and productive, must lay down as a foundation this principle, namely, that every human being is a person, that is, his nature is endowed with intelligence and free will. By virtue of this, he has rights and duties of his own, flowing directly and simultaneously from his very nature, which are therefore universal, inviolable and inalienable.

The Pope then developed a whole range of human rights and duties which, taken together, constitute a new order for the modern world. Special mention will be made here of only one of them: every man's right to freedom of conscience and freedom in his private and public worship. In Pope John's words: "Every human being has the right to honor God according to the dictates of an upright conscience and therefore the right to worship God privately and publicly." There is no question but that such a statement is unique in the history of papal pronouncements.

One of the most interesting passages in the Pope's *Pacem in Terris,* one that will surely be crucial in any future development of a Catholic theory of the state, is that on public authority. After postulating that the ultimate moral anchoring of public authority is in God Himself who is its first source and final end, Pope John declared:

> It must not be concluded, however, because authority comes from God, that therefore men have no right to choose those who are to rule the state, to decide the form of government and to determine both the way in which authority is to be exercised and its limits. It is thus clear that the doctrine which we have set forth is fully consonant with any democratic regime that is truly democratic.

These words would seem to indicate that Pope John gave final ecclesiastical sanction to the Late Scholastic theory of popular sovereignty in the tradition of Bellarmine and Suarez and to the democratic theory of the state put forward by present day Neo-Scholasticism, both of which are based on the rational concept of natural law. The sanction may also, it is to be hoped, put an end to the century-old controversy between authoritarian, rigidly Thomist theorists, on the one hand, and democratic theorists on the other. The controversy should now be finally decided in favor of the latter.

Here, too, John XXIII essentially followed the precedent of Pope Leo XIII. In 1892, Leo decided in favor of the democratic position in a dispute among French Catholics over the consequences of the French Revolution of 1789, especially over the question of whether the people have a right to resist tyranny. He wrote two encyclicals on the matter, both in French, which are particularly instructive. *Au Milieu des Sollicitudes* (1892) and *Notre Consolation* (also 1892) both represent a "revolutionary" *aggiornamento* which may have served as a model for the *aggiornamento* Pope John aimed at in *Pacem in Terris*.

CATHOLICS AND COEXISTENCE

Whoever, therefore, finds Pope John's position too liberal or even revolutionary, especially as it implies the possibility of a dialogue and a kind of coexistence with Socialist or Communist nations, would do well to study these two encyclicals of Leo XIII. They are neither mentioned nor dealt with in collections and commentaries on the Leonine encyclicals edited by Catholic conservatives.

Again, it would seem that John XXIII had the example of Leo XIII in mind when he wrote the following passage in *Pacem in Terris*:

> Individual citizens and intermediate groups are obliged to make their specific contribution to the common welfare. One of the chief consequences of this is that they must bring their own interests into harmony with the needs of the community.
>
> This must be done by means of formally perfect actions, the content of which must be morally good or at least capable of being directed towards good.
>
> Indeed, since the whole reason for the existence of civil authorities is the realization of the common good, it is clearly necessary that in pursuing this objective they should respect its essential elements, and at the same time conform their laws to the need of a given historical situation.

Another outstanding characteristic of *Pacem in Terris* is its concern for all mankind. Probably for the first time in the history of papal encyclicals, it was addressed not only to the Catholic world but to "all men of good will." This perhaps is the most stirring fact in the encyclical;

through it Pope John formally initiated a dialogue between Catholicism and the whole of human society

Central to such a dialogue is the personal freedom of man; man is free among all the orders and forms of modern life, cultural no less than political and economic The extent of the dialogue, of course, will depend on the conduct of the partners.

It requires, first, that all Catholics, conservatives and liberals alike, recognize without reservation the two universal principles of human life and order, ontological personalism and natural law, because they are the foundations of man's personal and social freedom.

Secondly, the dialogue requires that "all men of good will," regardless of their individual religious, ideological or political orientation, recognize the same principles as the basis for co-operation among all men, whether they are Catholics, other Christians or non-Christians.

It would be unjust to interpret Pope John's wish for a dialogue with representatives of Socialist and Communist powers, in the interest of world peace and disarmament, as a compromise with communism itself, any more than Leo XIII was interested in a compromise with the atheistic ideology of the French Revolution as it was preached and practiced in 1892. The efforts of both Popes were dictated by their interest in "safeguarding the common good." Today, to all appearances, coexistence with Communist and Socialist countries has become necessary; therefore Pope John clearly distinguished between ideological error *per se* and the people believing it and acting according to it.

"We must never confuse error and the person who errs," Pope John remarked, "not even when there is a question of error, or inadequate knowledge of truth in the moral or religious field."

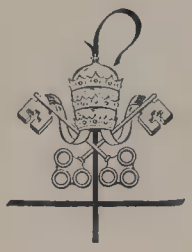
Pope John obviously was not suggesting acceptance of the errors of Marxism and communism. He specifically referred to the encyclical of Pius XI, *Divini Redemptoris,* which condemned atheistic communism. But if Khrushchev and other Communist leaders ever wished to enter into a genuine coexistence in the interest of world peace, they would have been sure to have his fatherly ear. Even then, however, he insisted that they respect and at least implicitly accept the personalist and natural law principles enunciated in *Pacem in Terris.* To make sure there would be no confusion on this point, Pope John summarized these principles at the end of the encyclical:

> Peace will be but an empty-sounding word unless it is founded on the order which the present document has outlined in confident hopes; an order founded on truth, built according to justice, vivified and integrated by charity and put into practice in freedom.

PACEM IN TERRIS
(Peace on Earth)

Encyclical of Pope John XXIII

(Parts III, IV and V)



III RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES

SUBJECTS OF RIGHTS AND DUTIES

80. Our predecessors have constantly maintained, and We join them in reasserting, that political communities are reciprocally subjects of rights and duties. This means that their relationships also must be harmonized in truth, in justice, in an active solidarity and in freedom. The same moral law which governs relations between individual human beings serves also to regulate the relations of political communities with one another.

81. This will be readily understood when one reflects that the individual representatives of political communities cannot put aside their personal dignity while they are acting in the name and interest of their countries; and that they cannot therefore violate the very law of their being, which is the moral law.

82. It would be absurd, moreover, even to imagine that men could surrender their own human attributes, or be compelled to do so, by the fact

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The above text is the concluding portion of Pope John's last encyclical. Parts I and II were printed in our Sept. issue. **Pacem in Terris** is also available in pamphlet form with commentary and study guide (50¢. America Press. 920 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10010).

of their appointment to public office. On the contrary, they have been given that noble assignment precisely because the wealth of their human endowments has earned them their reputation as outstanding members of the body politic.

83. Furthermore, authority is a necessary requirement of the moral order in human society. It may not therefore be used against that order; the very instant such an attempt were made, it would cease to be authority, as the Lord has warned us:

Hear, therefore, kings, and understand; learn, you magistrates of the earth's expanse! Hearken, you who rule the multitude and lord it over throngs of peoples! Because authority was given you by the Lord and sovereignty by the Most High, who shall probe your works and scrutinize your counsels![53]

84. Lastly, it is to be borne in mind that also, in the regulating of relations between political communities, authority is to be exercised for the achievement of the common good, which constitutes the reason for its existence.

85. But a fundamental factor of the common good is acknowledgment of the moral order and respect for its prescriptions.

Order between political communities must be built upon the unshakable and unchangeable rock of the moral law, made manifest in the order of nature by the Creator Himself and by Him engraved on the hearts of men with letters that may never be effaced. . . . Like the rays of a gleaming beacon, its principles must guide the plans and policies of men and nations. These are the signals—of warning, safety and smooth sailing—they will have to heed, if they would not see all their laborious efforts to establish a new order condemned to tempest and shipwreck.[54]

IN TRUTH

86. First among the rules governing the relations between states is that of truth. This calls, above all, for the elimination of every trace of racism, and the consequent recognition of the principle that all states are by nature equal in dignity. Each of them, accordingly, is vested with the right to existence, to self-development and the means fitting to its attainment, and to be the one primarily responsible for this self-development. Add to that the right of each to its good name and to the respect which is its due.

87. Very often, experience has taught us, individuals will be found to differ considerably in knowledge, virtue, talent and wealth. Yet these inequalities must never be held to excuse any man's attempt to lord it over his neighbors. They constitute rather a source of greater responsibility in the contribution which each and every one must make toward mutual improvement.

88. Similarly, political communities may have reached different levels of culture, civilization or economic development. But that is not a sufficient reason for some to take unjust advantage of their superiority over others. Rather should they see in it an added motive for more serious commitment to the common cause of social progress.

ALL NATIONS EQUAL IN DIGNITY

89. It is not true that some human beings are by nature superior and others inferior. All men are equal in their natural dignity. Consequently, there are no political communities which are superior by nature, and none which are inferior by nature. All political communities are of equal natural dignity, since they are bodies whose membership is made up of these same human beings. Nor must it be forgotten, in this connection, that peoples can be highly sensitive, and with good reason, in matters touching their dignity and honor.

90. Truth further demands that the various media of social communications made available by modern progress, which enable nations to know each other better, be used with serene objectivity. That need not, of course, rule out any legitimate emphasis on the positive aspects of their way of life. But those methods of information must be discarded which fall short of meeting the demands of truth and justice and, by the same token, impair the reputation of this people or that.[55]

IN JUSTICE

91. Relations between political communities are, in addition, to be regulated by justice. This implies, over and above recognition of their mutual rights, the fulfillment of their respective duties.

92. Political communities have the right to existence, to self-development and to the means necessary for this. They have the right to play the leading part in the process of their own development and the right to their good name and due honors. From which it follows that they have also the corresponding duty of respecting these rights in others and of avoiding any act of violation. Just as an individual man may not pursue his own interests to the detriment of other men, so, on the international level, one state may not develop itself by restricting or oppressing other states. St. Augustine rightly says: *What are kingdoms without justice but bands of robbers?*[56]

93. Not only can it happen, but it actually does happen, that the advantages and conveniences which nations strive to acquire for themselves become objects of contention. Nevertheless, the resulting disagreements must be settled, not by force, nor by deceit or trickery, but rather in the only manner which is worthy of the dignity of man, i.e., by a mutual assessment of the reasons on both sides of the dispute, by an objective study

of the situation and an equitable reconciliation of differences of opinions.

TREATMENT OF MINORITIES

94. Since the 19th century there has been a rather widespread tendency in historical evolution for political communities to equate themselves with national communities. For various reasons, however, it has not always been possible to make geographical boundaries coincide with ethnic ones. This gives rise to the phenomenon of minorities and to related complex problems.

95. In the first place, it must be made clear that justice is seriously violated by whatever is done to limit the strength and numerical increase of these minority peoples. The injustice is more serious if such sinful projects are aimed at the very extinction of these groups.

96. On the other hand, the demands of justice are admirably observed by those civil authorities who promote the natural betterment of those citizens belonging to a minority ethnic group, particularly when that concerns their language, the development of their natural gifts, their ancestral customs, and their accomplishments and endeavors in the economic order.[57]

97. It should be noted, however, that these minority groups, either because of a reaction to their present situation or because of historical difficulties, are often inclined to exalt beyond due measure anything proper to their own people, so as to place them even above human values, as if that which is proper to humanity were to be at the service of that which is proper to the nation.

Reason rather demands that these very people recognize also the advantages that accrue to them from their peculiar circumstances. For instance, no small contribution is made toward the development of their particular talents and spirit by daily dealings with people who have grown up in a different culture. Through these dealings they can gradually enhance their own vigor and fiber with the good qualities of the others. This, however, will be true only if they know how to act as a bridge, which facilitates the circulation of life in its various expressions among different traditions or civilizations, and not as a zone of discord which can cause great damage and choke national development.

IN ACTIVE SOLIDARITY

98. Certainly relations between states must be regulated by the norms of truth and justice, but they also derive great benefits from active solidarity. This solidarity can be achieved through mutual co-operation on various levels, such as, in our own times, has already taken place with laudable results in the economic, social, political, educational, health and sport spheres. We must remember that, of its very nature, civil authority exists, not to confine its people within the boundaries of their nation, but rather

to protect, above all else, the common good of that particular civil society, which certainly cannot be divorced from the common good of the entire human family.

99. This entails not only that civil societies should pursue their particular interests without hurting others, but also that they should join forces and plans whenever the efforts of an individual government cannot achieve its desired goals. But in the execution of such common efforts, great care must be taken lest what helps some nations should injure others.

100. Furthermore, the universal common good requires that in every nation friendly relations be fostered in all fields between the citizens and their intermediate societies.

There are, in many lands, groupings of people of more or less different racial backgrounds. However, the elements which characterize an ethnic group must not be transformed into a watertight compartment in which human beings are prevented from communicating with their fellow men of other ethnic groups. That would contrast with our contemporary situation, in which the distances separating peoples have been almost wiped out. Nor can one overlook the fact that, even though human beings differ from one another by virtue of their ethnic peculiarities, they all possess certain essential common elements and are inclined by nature to meet each other in the world of spiritual values, whose progressive assimilation opens to them the possibility of perfection without limits. They have the right and duty, therefore, to live in communion with one another.

PROPER BALANCE BETWEEN POPULATION, LAND AND CAPITAL

101. As everybody knows, there are countries with an abundance of arable land and a scarcity of manpower, while in other countries there is no proportion between natural resources and the capital available. This demands that peoples should set up relationships of mutual collaboration, facilitating the circulation from one to the other of capital, goods and manpower.[58]

102. Here We deem it opportune to remark that, whenever possible, the work to be done should be taken to the workers, not vice versa.

In this way a possibility of a better future is offered to many persons without their being forced to leave their own environment in order to seek residence elsewhere, which almost always entails the heartache of separation and difficult periods of adjustment and social integration.

PROBLEM OF POLITICAL REFUGEES

103. The sentiment of universal fatherhood which the Lord has placed in Our heart makes Us feel profound sadness in considering the phenomenon of political refugees, a phenomenon which has assumed large proportions and which always hides numberless and acute sufferings.

104. Such expatriations show that there are some political regimes which do not guarantee for individual citizens a sufficient sphere of freedom within which their souls are allowed to breathe humanly. In fact, under those regimes even the lawful existence of such a sphere of freedom is either called into question or denied. This undoubtedly is a radical inversion of the order of human society, because the reason for the existence of public authority is to promote the common good, a fundamental element of which is the recognition of that sphere of freedom and the safeguarding of it.

105. At this point it will not be superfluous to recall that such exiles are persons, and that all their rights as persons must be recognized, since they do not lose those rights on losing the citizenship of the states of which they are former members.

106. Now, among the rights of a human person there must be included the one by which a man may enter a political community where he hopes he can more fittingly provide a future for himself and his dependents. Wherefore, as far as the common good rightly understood permits, it is the duty of that state to accept such immigrants and to help to integrate them as new members.

107. Wherefore, on this occasion, We publicly approve and commend every undertaking founded on the principles of human solidarity or Christian charity which aims at making the migration of persons from one country to another less painful.

108. And We will be permitted to single out for the attention and gratitude of all right-minded persons the manifold work which specialized international agencies are carrying out in this very delicate field.

DISARMAMENT

109. On the other hand, it is with deep sorrow that We note the enormous stocks of armaments that have been and still are being made in the more economically developed countries with a vast outlay of intellectual and economic resources. And so it happens that, while the people of these countries are loaded with heavy burdens, other countries as a result are deprived of the collaboration they need in order to make economic and social progress.

110. The production of arms is allegedly justified on the grounds that in present-day conditions peace cannot be preserved without an equal balance of armaments. And so, if one country increases its armaments, others feel the need to do the same. And if one country is equipped with nuclear weapons, other countries must produce their own, equally destructive.

111. Consequently, people live in constant fear lest the storm that threatens every moment should break upon them with dreadful violence.

And with good reason, for the arms of war are ready at hand. Even though it is difficult to believe that anyone would deliberately take the responsibility for the appalling destruction and sorrow that war would bring in its train, it cannot be denied that the conflagration may be set off by some uncontrollable and unexpected chance. And one must bear in mind that, even though the monstrous power of modern weapons acts as a deterrent, it is to be feared that the mere continuance of nuclear tests, undertaken with war in mind, will have fatal consequences for life on earth.

112. Justice, right reason and humanity, therefore, urgently demand that the arms race should cease; that the stockpiles which exist in various countries should be reduced equally and simultaneously by the parties concerned; that nuclear weapons should be banned; and that a general agreement should eventually be reached about progressive disarmament and an effective method of control.

In the words of Pius XII, Our predecessor of happy memory: *The calamity of a world war, with the economic and social ruin and the moral excesses and dissolution that accompany it, must not be permitted to envelop the human race for a third time.*[59]

113. All must realize that there is no hope of putting an end to the building up of armaments, nor of reducing the present stocks, nor still less of abolishing them altogether, unless the process is complete and thorough and unless it proceeds from inner conviction; unless, that is, everyone sincerely co-operates to banish the fear and anxious expectation of war with which men are oppressed. If this is to come about, the fundamental principle on which our present peace depends must be replaced by another, which declares that the true and solid peace of nations can consist, not in equality of arms, but in mutual trust alone.

We believe that this can be brought to pass, and We consider that it is something which reason requires, that it is eminently desirable in itself and that it will prove to be the source of many benefits.

114. In the first place, it is an objective demanded by reason. There can be, or at least there should be, no doubt that relations between states, as between individuals, should be regulated, not by the force of arms, but by the light of reason, by the rule, that is, of truth, of justice and of active and sincere co-operation.

115. Secondly, We say that it is an objective earnestly to be desired in itself. Is there anyone who does not ardently yearn to see war banished, to see peace preserved and daily more firmly established?

116. And finally, it is an objective which will be a fruitful source of many benefits, for its advantages will be felt everywhere—by individuals, by families, by nations, by the whole human family. The warning of Pius XII still rings in our ears: *Nothing is lost by peace; everything may be lost by war.*[60]

117. Since this is so, We, the Vicar on earth of Jesus Christ, Saviour of the world and author of peace, as interpreter of the profound longing of the entire human family, following the paternal impulse of Our heart and seized by anxiety for the good of all, feel it Our duty to beseech men, especially those who have the responsibility of public affairs, to spare no labor in order to insure that world events follow a reasonable and human course.

118. In the highest and most authoritative assemblies, let men give serious thought to the problem of a peaceful adjustment of relations between political communities on a world level—an adjustment founded on mutual trust, on sincerity in negotiations and on faithful fulfillment of obligations assumed. Let them study the problems until they find that point of agreement from which they can commence to go forward toward accords that will be sincere, lasting and fruitful.

119. We, for Our part, will not cease to pray God to bless these labors so that they may lead to fruitful results.

IN FREEDOM

120. It has also to be borne in mind that relations between states should be based on freedom. This is to say that no country may unjustly oppress others or unduly meddle in their affairs. On the contrary, all should help to develop in others a sense of responsibility, a spirit of enterprise and an earnest desire to be the first to promote their own advancement.

EVOLUTION OF UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

121. Because all men are joined together by reason of their common origin, their redemption by Christ and their supernatural destiny, and are called to form one Christian family, We appealed in the encyclical *Mater et Magistra* to economically developed nations to come to the aid of those which are in the process of development.[61]

122. We are greatly consoled to see how widely that appeal has been favorably received. And We are confident that even more so in the future it will contribute to the end that the poorer countries, in as short a time as possible, will arrive at that degree of economic development which will enable every citizen to live in keeping with his human dignity.

123. But it can never be sufficiently repeated that this co-operation should be effected with the greatest respect for the liberty of the countries being developed, for these must realize that they are primarily responsible, and that they are the principal artisans in the promotion of their own economic development and social progress.

124. Our predecessor Pius XII wisely proclaimed that *in the matter of this new order founded on moral principles, there is no room for violation of freedom, integrity and security of other nations, no matter what*

may be their territorial extent or their capacity for defense. It is inevitable that the powerful states, by reason of their greater potential and their power, should pave the way in the establishment of economic groups comprising not only themselves but also smaller and weaker states as well. It is nevertheless indispensable that in the interests of the common good they, as all others, should respect the rights of those smaller states to political freedom, to economic development and to the adequate protection, in the case of conflicts between nations, of that neutrality which is theirs according to the natural, as well as international, law. Those states likewise have the right to safeguard their economic development. In this way, and in this way only, will they be able to obtain a fitting share of the common good, and assure the material and spiritual welfare of their people.[62]

125. It is vitally important, therefore, that the wealthier states, in providing varied forms of assistance to the poorer, should respect the moral heritage and ethnic characteristics peculiar to each, and also that they should avoid any intention of political domination. If this is done, *a precious contribution will be made toward the formation of a world community, a community in which each member, while conscious of its own individual rights and duties, will work in a relationship of equality toward the attainment of the universal common good.*[63]

SIGNS OF THE TIMES

126. Men are becoming more and more convinced that disputes which arise between states should not be resolved by recourse to arms, but rather by negotiation.

127. It is true that on historical grounds this conviction is based chiefly on the terrible destructive force of modern arms. And it is nourished by the horror aroused in the mind by the very thought of the cruel destruction and the immense suffering which the use of those armaments would bring. And for this reason it is hardly possible to imagine that in the atomic era war could be used as an instrument of justice.

128. Nevertheless, unfortunately, the law of fear still reigns among peoples, and it forces them to spend fabulous sums for armaments: not for aggression, they affirm—and there is no reason for not believing them—but to dissuade others from aggression.

129. There is reason to hope, however, that by meeting and negotiating men may come to discover better the bonds—deriving from the human nature which they have in common—that unite them, and that they may learn also that one of the most profound requirements of their common nature is this: that between them and their respective peoples it is not fear that should reign, but love, a love that tends to express itself in a collaboration that is loyal, manifold in form and productive of many benefits.

IV RELATIONSHIP OF MEN AND OF POLITICAL COMMUNITIES WITH THE WORLD COMMUNITY

INTERDEPENDENCE BETWEEN POLITICAL COMMUNITIES

130. Recent progress in science and technology has profoundly affected human beings and influenced men to work together and live as one family. There has been a great increase in the circulation of ideas, of persons and of goods from one country to another, so that relations have become closer between individuals, families and intermediate associations belonging to different political communities, and between the public authorities of those communities.

At the same time, the interdependence of national economies has grown deeper, one becoming progressively more closely related to the other, so that they become, as it were, integral parts of the one world economy. Likewise the social progress, order, security and peace of any one country are necessarily connected with the social progress, order, security and peace of all other countries.

131. At the present time no political community is able to pursue its own interests and develop itself in isolation, because its prosperity and development are both a reflection and a component part of the prosperity and development of all the other political communities.

INSUFFICIENCY OF MODERN STATES TO INSURE THE UNIVERSAL COMMON GOOD

132. The unity of the human family has always existed because its members are human beings all equal by virtue of their natural dignity. Hence there will always exist the objective need to promote in sufficient measure the universal common good, that is, the common good of the entire human family.

133. In times past, one could be justified in feeling that the public authorities of the different political communities might be in a position to provide for the universal common good, either through normal diplomatic channels or top-level meetings, or by making use of juridical instruments such as conventions and treaties and other means suggested by the natural law, or by the laws of nations or by international law.

134. As a result of the far-reaching changes which have taken place in the relations of the human family, on the one hand the universal common good gives rise to problems which are complex, very grave and extremely urgent, especially as regards security and world peace. On the other hand, the public authorities of the individual political communities—placed as they are on a footing of equality one with the other—no matter how much they multiply their meetings or sharpen their wits in efforts to draw

up new juridical instruments, are no longer able to face the task of finding an adequate solution to the problems mentioned above. And this not due to a lack of good will or of a spirit of enterprise, but because of a structural defect which hinders them.

135. It can be said, therefore, that at this historical moment the present system of organization and the way its principle of authority operates on a world basis no longer correspond to the objective requirements of the universal common good.

CONNECTION BETWEEN THE COMMON GOOD AND POLITICAL AUTHORITY

136. There exists an intrinsic connection between the common good on the one hand and the structure and function of public authority on the other. The moral order, which needs public authority in order to promote the common good in human society, requires also that the authority be effective in attaining that end. This demands that the organs through which the authority is institutionalized, becomes operative and pursues its ends, must be constituted and act in such a manner as to be capable of bringing to realization the new meaning which the common good is taking on in the historical evolution of the human family.

137. Today the universal common good poses problems of world-wide dimensions which cannot be adequately tackled or solved except by the efforts of public authorities endowed with a breadth of powers, structure and means of the same proportions: that is, of public authorities which are in a position to act in an effectve manner on a world-wide basis. The moral order itself, therefore, demands that such a form of public authority be established.

PUBLIC AUTHORITY INSTITUTED BY COMMON CONSENT, NOT IMPOSED BY FORCE

138. A public authority, having world-wide power and endowed with the proper means for the efficacious pursuit of its objective, which is the universal common good in concrete form, must be set up by common accord and not imposed by force.

The reason is that such an authority must be in a position to operate effectively, while at the same time its action must be inspired by sincere and real impartiality. In other words, it must be an action aimed at satisfying the objective requirements of the universal common good.

The difficulty is that there would be reason to fear that a supranational or world-wide public authority, forcibly imposed by the more powerful political communities, might become an instrument of one-sided interests. And even should this not happen, it would be difficult for it to avoid all suspicion of partiality in its actions, and this would take away from its effectiveness.

Even though there may be pronounced differences between political communities as regards the degree of their economic development and their military power, they are all very sensitive as regards their juridical equality and their moral dignity. For that reason, they are right in not easily yielding in obedience to an authority imposed by force, or to an authority in whose creation they had no part or to which they themselves did not decide to submit by conscious and free choice.

THE UNIVERSAL COMMON GOOD AND PERSONAL RIGHTS

139. Like the common good of individual political communities, so too the universal common good cannot be determined except by having regard to the human person. Therefore, the public authority of the world community, too, must have as its fundamental objective the recognition, respect, safeguarding and promotion of the rights of the human person. This can be done by direct action when required, or by creating on a world scale an environment in which the public authorities of the individual political communities can more easily carry out their specific functions.

PRINCIPLE OF SUBSIDIARITY

140. Just as within each political community the relations between individuals, families, intermediate associations and public authority are governed by the principle of subsidiarity, so too the relations between the public authority of each political community and the public authority of the world community must be regulated by the same principle. This means that the public authority of the world community must tackle and solve problems of an economic, social, political or cultural character which are posed by the universal common good. For, because of the vastness, complexity and urgency of those problems, the public authorities of the individual states are not in a position to tackle them with any hope of a positive solution.

141. The public authority of the world community is not intended to limit the sphere of action of the public authority of the individual political community, much less to take its place. On the contrary, its purpose is to create, on a world basis, an environment in which the public authorities of each political community, its citizens and intermediate associations, can carry out their tasks, fulfill their duties and exercise their rights with greater security.[64]

SIGNS OF THE TIMES

142. As is known, the United Nations (UN) was established on June 26, 1945, and to it there were subsequently added intergovernmental agencies with extensive international tasks in the economic, social, cultural, educational and health fields. The United Nations had as its essential purpose the maintenance and consolidation of peace between peoples, foster-

ing between them friendly relations based on the principles of equality, mutual respect and varied forms of co-operation in every sector of human endeavor.

143. An act of the highest importance performed by the United Nations was the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, approved in the General Assembly on December 10, 1948. In the preamble of that declaration, the recognition and respect of those rights and respective liberties is proclaimed as an ideal to be pursued by all peoples and all countries.

144. Some objections and reservations, We observed, were raised regarding certain points in the declaration, and rightly so. There is no doubt, however, that the document represents an important step on the path toward the juridico-political organization of the world community. For in it, in most solemn form, the dignity of a human person is acknowledged in all men. And as a consequence there is proclaimed, as a fundamental right, the right of free movement in the search for truth and in the attainment of moral good and of justice, and also the right to a dignified life, while other rights connected with those mentioned are likewise proclaimed.

145. It is Our earnest prayer that the United Nations—in its structure and in its means—may become ever more equal to the magnitude and nobility of its tasks. May the day come as quickly as possible when every human being will find therein an effective safeguard for the rights which derive directly from his dignity as a person, and which are therefore universal, inviolable and inalienable rights. This is all the more to be hoped for since all human beings, as they take an ever more active part in the public life of their own political communities, are showing an increasing interest in the affairs of all peoples, and are becoming more consciously aware that they are living members of a world community.

V PASTORAL EXHORTATIONS

DUTY OF TAKING PART IN PUBLIC LIFE

146. Once again We deem it opportune to remind Our children of their duty to take an active part in public life and to contribute toward the attainment of the common good of the entire human family as well as to that of their own political community. They should endeavor, therefore, in the light of their Christian faith and led by love, to insure that the various institutions—whether economic, social, cultural or political in purpose—should be such as not to create obstacles, but rather to facilitate or render less arduous man's perfecting of himself in both the natural order and the supernatural.

SCIENTIFIC COMPETENCE AND PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

147. Nevertheless, in order to imbue civilization with sound principles and enliven it with the spirit of the gospel, it is not enough to be illumined with the gift of faith and enkindled with the desire of forwarding a good cause; it is also necessary to take an active part in the various organizations and influence them from within.

148. And since our present age is one of outstanding scientific and technical progress, one cannot enter these organizations and work effectively from within unless he is scientifically competent, technically capable and skilled in the practice of his own profession.

APOSTOLATE OF A TRAINED LAITY

149. We desire to call attention to the fact that scientific competence, technical capacity and professional experience, although necessary, are not of themselves sufficient to elevate the relationships of society to an order that is genuinely human, that is, to an order whose foundation is truth, whose measure and objective is justice, whose driving force is love, and whose method of attainment is freedom.

150. To this end it is certainly necessary that human beings carry on their own temporal activities in accordance with the laws governing them and following the methods corresponding to their nature. But it is also necessary that they should carry on those activities as acts within the moral order, and therefore, as the exercise or vindication of a right, as the fulfillment of a duty or the performance of a service, and as a positive answer to the providential design of God directed to our salvation.

In other words, it is necessary that human beings, in the intimacy of their own consciences, should so live and act in their temporal lives as to create a synthesis between scientific, technical and professional elements on the one hand, and spiritual values on the other.

INTEGRATION OF FAITH AND ACTION

151. It is no less clear that today, in traditionally Christian nations, secular institutions, although demonstrating a high degree of scientific and technical perfection and efficiency in achieving their respective ends, not infrequently are but slightly affected by Christian motivation or inspiration.

152. It is beyond question that in the creation of those institutions many contributed and continue to contribute who were believed to be and who consider themselves Christians; and without doubt, in part at least, they were and are. How does one explain this? It is Our opinion that the explanation is to be found in an inconsistency in their minds between religious belief and their action in the temporal sphere. It is necessary, therefore, that their interior unity be re-established, and that in their temporal activity faith should be present as a beacon to give light, and charity as a force to give life.

INTEGRAL EDUCATION

153. It is Our opinion, too, that the above-mentioned inconsistency between the religious faith, in those who believe, and their activities in the temporal sphere, results—in great part if not entirely—from the lack of a solid Christian education. Indeed, it happens in many quarters and too often that there is no proportion between scientific training and religious instruction. The former continues and is extended until it reaches higher degrees, while the latter remains at elementary level.

It is indispensable, therefore, that in the training of youth, education should be complete and without interruption; that is to say, religious values should be cultivated in the minds of the young and their moral conscience refined in a manner to keep pace with the continuous and ever more abundant assimilation of scientific and technical knowledge. And it is indispensable, too, that they be instructed regarding the proper way to carry out their actual tasks.[65]

154. We deem it opportune to point out how difficult it is to understand clearly the relation between the objective requirements of justice and concrete situations, that is, to perceive the degrees and forms in which doctrinal principles and directives ought to be applied to current human affairs.

155. And the perception of those degrees and forms is all the more difficult in our times, which require everyone to have regard for the universal common good and which are marked by a pronounced dynamism. For this reason, the problem of bringing social reality into line with the objective requirements of justice is one which will never admit of a definitive solution. Meanwhile, Our children must not take the position that they can relax and feel satisfied with objectives already achieved.

156. In fact, all human beings ought rather to reckon that what has been accomplished is but little in comparison with what remains to be done. This is so because organs of production, trade unions, professional organizations, insurance systems, legal systems, political regimes, and institutions for cultural, health, recreational or sporting and other similar purposes must all be adjusted to the era of the atom and of the conquest of space, an era in which the human family has already entered on its new advance toward limitless horizons.

RELATIONS BETWEEN CATHOLICS AND NON-CATHOLICS IN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

157. The doctrinal principles outlined in this document derive from or are suggested by the requirements of human nature itself, and are, for the most part, dictates of the natural law. They provide Catholics, therefore, with a vast field in which they can meet and come to an understanding both with Christians separated from this Apostolic See, and also with

human beings who are not enlightened by faith in Jesus Christ, but who are endowed with the light of reason and with a natural and operative honesty.

In such relations let the faithful be careful to be always consistent in their actions, so that they may never come to any compromise in matters of religion and morals. At the same time, however, let them be, and show themselves to be, animated by a spirit of understanding and detachment, and disposed to work loyally in the pursuit of objectives which are of their nature good, or conducive to good.[66]

158. However, one must never confuse error and the person who errs, not even when there is question of error, or inadequate knowledge of truth, in the moral or religious field.

The person who errs is always and above all a human being, and in every case he retains his dignity as a human person. He must always be regarded and treated in accordance with that lofty dignity. Besides, in every human being there is a need that is congenital to his nature and never becomes extinguished, one that compels him to break through the web of error and open his mind to the knowledge of truth. And God will never fail to act on his interior being, with the result that a person, who at a given moment of his life lacks the clarity of faith or even shall have adhered to erroneous doctrines, can at a future date be enlightened and believe the truth.

Meetings and agreements, in the various sectors of daily life, between believers and those who either do not believe or believe insufficiently because they adhere to error, can be occasions for discovering truth and paying homage to it.

159. It must be borne in mind, furthermore, that neither can false philosophical teachings regarding the nature, origin and destiny of the universe and of man be identified with historical movements that have economic, social, cultural or political ends, not even when these movements have originated from those teachings and have drawn and still draw inspiration therefrom.

This is so because the teachings, once they are drawn up and defined, remain always the same, while the movements, working in constantly evolving historical situations, cannot but be influenced by these latter and cannot avoid, therefore, being subject to changes, even of a profound nature. Besides, who can deny that those movements, insofar as they conform to the dictates of right reason and are interpreters of the lawful aspirations of the human person, contain elements that are positive and deserving of approval?

160. It can happen, then, that meetings for the attainment of some practical end, which formerly were deemed inopportune or unproductive, might now or in the future be considered opportune and useful.

But to decide whether this moment has arrived, and also to lay down the ways and degrees in which work in common might be possible for the achievement of economic, social, cultural and political ends which are honorable and useful, are problems which can be solved only with the virtue of prudence, which is the guiding light of the virtues that regulate the moral life, both individual and social.

Therefore, as far as Catholics are concerned, this decision rests primarily with those who live and work in the specific sectors of human society in which these problems arise, always, however, in accordance with the principles of the natural law, with the social doctrine of the Church, and with the directives of ecclesiastical authority. For it must not be forgotten that the Church has the right and the duty not only to safeguard the principles of ethics and religion, but also to intervene authoritatively with her children in the temporal sphere when there is a question of judging the application of those principles to concrete case.[67]

LITTLE BY LITTLE

161. There are some souls, particularly endowed with generosity, who, on finding situations where the requirements of justice are not satisfied or not satisfied in full, feel enkindled with the desire to change the state of things, as if they wished to have recourse to something like a revolution.

162. It must be borne in mind that to proceed gradually is the law of life in all its expressions. Therefore, in human institutions, too, it is not possible to renovate for the better except by working from within them, gradually. This was also proclaimed by Our predecessor of happy memory, Pius XII, in these terms: *Salvation and justice are not to be found in revolution, but in evolution through concord. Violence has always achieved only destruction, not construction; the kindling of passions, not their pacification; the accumulation of hate and ruin, not the reconciliation of the contending parties. And it has reduced men and parties to the difficult task of rebuilding, after sad experience, on the ruins of discord.*[68]

AN IMMENSE TASK

163. There is an immense task incumbent on all men of good will, namely, the task of restoring the relations of the human family in truth, in justice, in love and in freedom—the relations between individual human beings; between citizens and their respective political communities; between political communities themselves; between individuals, families, intermediate associations and political communities on the one hand, and the world community on the other. This is a most exalted task, all will agree, for it is the task of bringing about true peace in the order established by God.

164. Admittedly, those who are endeavoring to restore the relations of social life according to the criteria mentioned above are not many. To

them We express Our paternal appreciation, and We earnestly invite them to persevere in their work with ever greater zeal. At the same time, We are comforted by the hope that their number will be increased, especially by those who believe. For it is an imperative of duty; a requirement of love.

Every believer in this world of ours must be a spark of light, a center of love, a vivifying leaven amidst his fellow men. And he will be this all the more perfectly, the more closely he lives in communion with God.

165. In fact, there can be no peace between men unless there is peace within each one of them, unless, that is, each one builds up within himself the order wished by God. Hence St. Augustine asks:

Does your soul desire to overcome your lower inclinations? Let it be subject to Him who is on high and it will conquer the lower self: there will be peace in you; true, secure and well-ordered peace. In what does that order consist? God commands the soul; the soul commands the body; and there is nothing more orderly than this.[69]

THE PRINCE OF PEACE

166. These words of Ours, which We have wished to dedicate to the problems that most beset the human family today, and on the just solution of which the ordered progress of society depends, are dictated by a profound aspiration which We know is shared by all men of good will: the consolidation of peace in the world.

167. As the humble and unworthy Vicar of Him whom the prophet announced as the Prince of Peace[70], We have the duty to expend all Our energies in an effort to protect and strengthen this universal boon. However, peace will be but an empty-sounding word unless it is founded on the order which this present document has outlined in confident hope: an order founded on truth, built according to justice, vivified and integrated by charity, and put into practice in freedom.

168. This is such a noble and elevated task that human resources, even though inspired by the most praiseworthy good will, cannot bring it to realization alone. In order that human society may reflect as faithfully as possible the Kingdom of God, help from on high is necessary.

169. For this reason, during these sacred days, Our supplication is raised with greater fervor toward Him who by His painful passion and death overcame sin—the root of discord and the source of sorrows and inequalities—and by His Blood reconciled mankind to the Eternal Father. *For he himself is our peace, he it is who has made both one. . . . And coming, he announced the good tidings of peace to you who were afar off, and of peace to those who were near.*[71]

170. And in the liturgy of these days we hear the announcement: *Our Lord Jesus Christ, after His resurrection, stood in the midst of His disciples and said "Peace be to you," alleluia. The disciples rejoiced seeing the Lord.*[72]

Thus Christ brings us peace, He leaves us peace. *Peace I leave with you, my peace I give to you; not as the world gives do I give to you.*[73]

171. This is the peace which We implore of Him with the ardent yearnings of Our prayer. May he banish from the hearts of men whatever might endanger peace. May He transform them into witnesses of truth, justice and brotherly love. May He enlighten the rulers of peoples so that in addition to their solicitude for the proper welfare of their citizens, they may guarantee and defend the great gift of peace. May He enkindle the wills of all so that they may overcome the barriers that divide, cherish the bonds of mutual charity, understand others, and pardon those who have done them wrong. By virtue of His action, may all peoples of the earth become as brothers, and may peace blossom forth among them.

172. As a pledge of this peace, and with the ardent wish that it may shine forth on the Christian communities entrusted to your care, especially for the benefit of those who are most lowly and in the greatest need of help and defense, We are glad to impart to you, Venerable Brothers, to priests both secular and religious, to religious men and women and to all the faithful, particularly to those who make every effort to put these exhortations of Ours into practice, Our apostolic blessings. Finally, upon all men of good will, to whom this encyclical letter is also addressed, We implore from Almighty God health and prosperity.

173. Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, on Holy Thursday, the eleventh day of April in the year 1963, the fifth of Our Pontificate.

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70. Cf. Is. 9:5.
71. Eph. 2:14-17.
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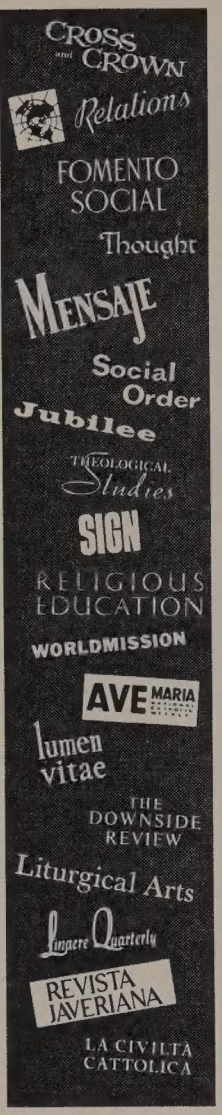

■ **STUDI CATTOLICI** *(Via Federico Cesi 30, Roma) "The Mass Media," by Raymond Panikkar, July-August, 1963, pp. 12-16.*

Technique, of itself, is morally ambivalent—since it can serve either moral good or moral evil. Supernaturally, it is neutral. Pessimism, based on a Jansenistic view of the world, believes that technique comes from the devil; optimism of the naturalistic sort believes that it will bring about the golden age on earth, or at least help bring about man's salvation and the Kingdom of God.

Sound theology goes beyond either pessimism or optimism. It reminds the pessimists that God put the world into man's hands for him to work and transform. Technique confers on man, the priest of the cosmos, the responsibility of using nature's powers for good, especially now that they are so enormously within man's control.

But it also reminds the optimists that one can gain the whole world and lose one's soul and that some of the gains in our civilization have been made with little thought of God. While this may not make them evil, it does suggest that they alone will not bring about man's salvation.

The "fullness of time" is not the epoch of technology, but the moment when Christ appeared on earth. Thus, it is clear that technology is not essential for man's salvation. However, this does not mean that it should not be used. In the Old Testament Samson used his strength for God's people. The Christian mission of technology cannot be an exception to the general rule that all things are for God's glory. This is neither optimism nor pessimism, but Christian realism.

■ **LA VIE SPIRITUELLE** *(29 blvd. Latour-Maubourg, Paris 7) "The Recruitment of Saints," by Philippe Rouillard, O.S.B., August-September, 1963, pp. 342-360.*

We are often surprised to find most saints belonging to only a few categories. For example, of the 15 saints canonized between 1951 and 1960 we find one pope, three bishops, nine religious, one missionary martyr and one young boy, Dominic Savio, who seems out of place in such company.

In the early Church, the calendar of saints was limited to martyrs; then came bishops; only later came persons who played other roles. During monastic ages, great founders and other extraordinary monks were naturally included in the Church calendar.

Canonization is something done by the Church, and presupposes heroic virtue of the saint and the veneration of the faithful. The Church is always reserved about admitting anyone to the altars. She does not try to canonize as many souls as possible, but only those who in a notable way have played a special role in building up the Kingdom of God. With new stresses in the life of the Church today, we may reasonably expect more of the laity to be canonized.

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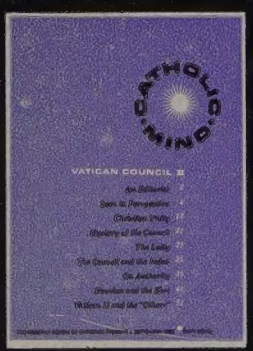

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